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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

THE ABOLITION AGITATORS BEGINNING TO RAISE THEIR HEADS.

From Bennett's Herald.

THE speeches delivered at Framingham, Massachusetts, on the Fourth of July; the resolutions offered by Hon. Owen Lovejoy, in the House of Representatives; the epistolary manifesto, from Peterboro, of Gerrit Smith; and the renewed vigor in behalf of abolitionism of Wendell Phillips, Garrison, Chandler, Greeley, Jefferson Brick, with their satellites, all prove that the deadly fear of consequences, which frightened the revolutionary demagogues of the Northern States into silence, three months ago, is subsiding, and that they are renewing their mischievous attempts to undermine the Constitution, and perpetuate the dissolution of the Union. They have commenced a simultaneous onslaught upon Mr. Lincoln, and abuse him openly for not having made the destruction of slave institutions, and the confiscation of Southern property, a part of the programme. Wendell Phillips gives the President of the United States [his choice] between having "slave-hound" branded on his forehead, or being the "liberator of four million of bondsmen," and Gerrit Smith says that "both Abolitionists and anti-Abolitionists should petition the Executive to proclaim the liberty of the slaves." Thus the school whose ravings have for forty years convulsed the country, and contributed to produce the calamities by which it is encompassed, is once more endeavoring to disseminate treason, and to turn aside the armed efforts of our patriotic hosts from the rebellion they are engaged in suppressing, to aiding in the accomplishment of their own illegal and nefarious schemes.

There never has been a period in the history of the United States, when the people of the country were so universally conservative as they are at present. If the question of maintaining intact the rights which are guaranteed to citizens of the South as well as of the North by the Constitution and the laws, were presented to them to-morrow, nine-tenths of the population would raise their voices against the slightest invasion of the liberties of the inhabitants of the Southern States. The loyal sentiment which burns so fiercely in the hearts of the people of the Northern portion of the Republic, and has arrayed nearly half a million of men in arms, is exclusively directed towards the suppression of rebellion and the emancipation of that fettered Union element in the Confederate States, which is gagged into silence by the despotism of the Richmond government. Our brave troops are engaged in no mean crusade against slavery. They eschew and repudiate abolition teachings. Two-thirds of them are Democrats, and, while they have sworn that the muskets shall not fall from their hands until insurrection is quelled, and the banner of the country once more floats unmolested over every stronghold, Custom-House and Post-Office in the land, they will connive at no such illegal acts as the confiscation of property, or the emancipation projects of the wild, revolutionary fanatics, who are striving to divert popular passions into a wrong channel.

"The Constitution," exclaims Wendell Phillips, "is rent." A little while ago, he said "Disunion is honor, disunion is gain," and he appeals to every ignoble motive his mind can conceive of, why heroes like Scott should "proclaim emancipation." Gerrit Smith writes to Mr. Lovejoy: "Was ever such infatuation before? Is it possible that either Congress or Cabinet is more concerned to save slavery than to crush rebellion? Possibly both are. Possibly the people are. Possibly slavery has debauched Congress, Cabinet and people beyond recovery. Possibly having so long succumbed to slavery it may be as vain to try to arouse us against it, as to arouse the mass of the drunkards against drunkenness or the mass of the gamblers against gambling." What language to use against a race of fellow-citizens who are engaged in the noblest work it has ever been the lot of man to achieve! A "debauched people, beyond recovery." Shame on the lips that utter such words, at a moment when the sublimest flame of patriotic devotion burns steadily from Maine to Oregon, and from the great lakes to the Potomac! The fact is that Garrison, Gerrit Smith, Greeley, Wendell Phillips, Chandler, Lovejoy, and the lesser lights that revolve around them are the true disorganizers, with political tendencies as dangerous and immoral as any that are entertained by Jefferson Davis, Yancey or Howell Cobb. They have no sympathy to look for from the masses of the community, nor do we entertain fears that they will meet with any sympathy from Mr. Lincoln and his advisers. The government at Washington has undertaken the performance of a task it will not shrink from. It is to restore the Union to its pristine integrity, and when this work is accomplished, the rights of every single citizen, everywhere, will be guaranteed to them as they existed prior to the period of insurrection. Any project in opposition to this would but aid the traitors, and procure for them a sympathy they cannot now look for.

SENATOR BAYARD'S VIEW OF THE MATTER.

IN the United States Senate, on the 19th inst., the special order, the resolution approving the acts of President Lincoln, was taken up.

Mr. BAYARD (Dem., Del.) proceeded to speak in opposition to the resolution. He reviewed the course of events last year, and the measures taken to save the country by conciliation and compromise from the horrors of civil war. He loved the Union as much as any man, and was willing to make any sacrifice, even of his life, to save the Union. But the cry was now unconditional submission. There was no talk of peace. He admitted that the present trouble was a revolution. It was a revolution of eleven States. Even if they should be crushed out by war, it will not be a restoration of the Union. A war of subjugation will end in the ruin of the Republic, and in the establishment of a despotism. If the Union is to be made the means of prostrating our liberties, it had better be dissolved. He warned the country against the horrors of civil war. He was for peace in any form to restore the Union, and, if this was not possible, to part in peace. He would negotiate with the revolted States, and listen to the terms they had to propose. He admitted the right of blockade, for we were really in a state of war. He admitted the writ of *habeas corpus* might be suspended when the Courts were not in force; but he denied the right to suspend the writ in States where the Courts were open. If we affirm that the President has such power, the right to suspend the writ, a most fatal blow will be struck at the liberties of the country—but in no case can the President delegate this power. This was the great objection he had to the resolution; he did not care for the rest of it. The right of a citizen to liberty of person was most important. Mr. Bayard argued at considerable length in regard to the sanctity of the writ of *habeas corpus*, contending, that there was no difference between the letter de cachet of Louis the 14th and the arrests of the President, and the only difference between the Bastile and Fort McHenry is that the latter has no dungeons.

NORTHERN ABOLITION DISORGANIZERS.

From Bennett's Herald.

NINE-TENTHS of the people of the loyal States are conservative in their sentiments. President Lincoln has pursued a course in accordance with the patriotic views of the masses, and has acquired by so doing a nearly unanimous approval of the measures he has adopted to put down insurrection. The rage of the Greeleys, Garrisons, Wendell Phillipses, Lovejoys, Chandlers and Jefferson Bricks of the North knows no bounds. The ferocious harangue of Mr. Phillips, on the Fourth of July, at Framingham, gives the President no other choice than the instant liberation of all bondsmen, or being branded as a "slave-hound," and Gerrit Smith demands an executive edict of emancipation, and that "ten or fifteen regiments of blacks shall be marched southward from Canada and the Northern States." *The Tribune* is, if possible, still more fanatic. * * * No war has been proclaimed by the government against slavery; neither will any attempt be made to interfere with the full enjoyment, by individuals in the South, of the rights guaranteed to them by the laws, so soon as rebellion shall have been quelled, and traitors have laid down their arms. Five hundred thousand loyal men are, or soon will be, engaged in effecting this result, and when it shall have been achieved, those who are warring against the Union in behalf of slave institutions will be less abhorred than the more insidious mischief-makers who are undermining it in order that slavery may be destroyed.

Selections.

THE WAR IN ITS RELATIONS TO SLAVERY.

IMPORTANT DEBATE IN THE SENATE.

U. S. SENATE, Washington, July 18.

THE bill for the better organization of the Military Establishment being under consideration—

Mr. POWELL (Dem., Ky.) offered an amendment that no part of the Army or Navy shall be used to subjugate or hold as conquered provinces any sovereign State, lately one of the United States, nor in any way interfere with African slavery. He said, from what he had heard here and elsewhere, the people of the South might be well alarmed that the war was intended to subjugate and abolish slavery. He referred to the speech of the Senator from Connecticut (Dixon*), and the Senator from Oregon (Baker) and the bill of the Senator.

Mr. DIXON (Rep., Conn.) explained that he had said in case the contest came to the question between Union and Slavery, he believed the people would say slavery must go down, and he still said so.

Mr. LANE (Rep., Kansas) moved to amend Mr. Powell's amendment by inserting "unless it shall be necessary in enforcing the laws or maintaining the Constitution and Union." He said: I represent a constituency, sir, whose rights have been trampled on by the Slave Oligarchy of this country. Fraud, cruelty and murder were inflicted upon them by that power. Although thus afflicted in an attempt to force upon us, against our will, that institution, after that struggle was over we were willing to stand up to the compromises of the Constitution, and permit slavery to remain undisturbed where it existed in the States. Yet an attempt is now made, and by that power, to overthrow the government and destroy the Union, and they have brought upon us this conflict. If, in that conflict, the institution of slavery perish, we will thank God that he has brought upon us this war. We would not be misunderstood. We would have stood by the compromises of the Constitution, and would not, by word or act, have disturbed slavery in the States where it existed. But they have forced upon us this trouble, and I, for one, am willing it shall be followed to its logical conclusion. I do believe, Mr. President, that the institution of slavery will not survive, in any State of this Union, the march of the Union army, and I thank God that it is so. An institution that has been the curse of the country since my earliest recollection. These halls have been accursed with it. The people of the States where it exists have been accursed with it, and the people of the free States have been accursed with it. I respect the gentlemen who represent the slave States on this floor, but I say that the institution of slavery requires of its devotees that kind of devotion that makes fiends of men. There is no crime that the devotees of slavery will not commit in maintaining or extending it. In Kansas it was the amusement of the Slave Oligarchy of Missouri—no, I will say the filibusters, for I respect the Union men of Missouri—but it was the amusement of the filibusters of Missouri, Louisiana, and Arkansas, to stuff the ballot-boxes of Kansas in the attempt to force their accursed institution upon it. It was their daily practice to murder helpless prisoners, and to tear from their reeking heads the scalps of their yet living victims. It was their common practice to take free State men and tie them to trees, and demand of them to recant their principles; to cut off finger after finger till the hands were fingerless, and then riddle them to death with bullets. Yet whose voice was heard on this side of this chamber, or that side in the Lower House in complaint? The Constitution may be trampled under foot to advance slavery, and force it upon a gallant people, but when the President of the United States exercises extraordinary authority, but in my opinion within the Constitution, he is arraigned here by distinguished gentlemen as having outraged that instrument and trampled it under foot. I was reminded the other day, when the distinguished Senator from Kentucky was arraigning this Administration, that he was somewhat in the situation of the boy in the orchard, who complained bitterly because he could not obtain the apple that was beyond his reach. It did seem to me that the criticism on this Administration would, with much more dignity, have come from any other Senator than from him who delivered that most eloquent speech the day before yesterday. I will vote against the amendment of the Senator from Kentucky, and I will vote for the amendment I have proposed, with the distinct understanding and avowal to the country that slavery is to perish rather than one inch of this Union is to be parted with.

Mr. CARLILE (Va.)—Mr. President, I regret that the amendment has been introduced, and that the remarks have been made upon it which I have listened to. I think it is doing injustice to the causes which have produced this rebellion to charge it to the institution of slavery. Sir, the man who conducted our army through the long war of the revolution, and who won for us this priceless inheritance, was himself a slaveholder. It is, therefore, no fault of the institution itself. In my opinion, if slavery had not existed in any portion of this country, this same trouble would have existed. I therefore regret this discussion, and the evident warmth exhibited, to create what I believe to be a false impression upon the minds of Union men residing in States where this institution of slavery exists. I can say that in my portion of the commonwealth of Virginia the warmest and soundest Union men are among these very slaveholders, and, I ventured to assert, in the midst of a slaveholding body on the 7th of March last, that the most direct mode by which the object of the most violent Abolitionists could be accomplished, was the mode upon which Virginia was about to enter. I had no fears of the destruction of slavery by the efforts of those residing beyond the limits of the States where it exists, but it would be done in the accomplishment of their unholy purposes to override the Constitution and destroy the rights of the people of these States. I think that four-fifths of the brave column, with the brave McClellan, would soon drop off if it were told to them that this is no longer a war for the maintenance of the government as it is, and in the form in which it came to us from our fathers. I shall vote against the amendment of my friend from Kentucky. This is not a war of subjugation. There is no power in the country to carry on such a war under the Constitution, and no physical power to carry it on. It is a war for the existence of the Constitution and the Union under it. It is a war in which the hearts of loyal people are enlisted in my State, as are the hearts of the people whom the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. Dixon) represents. I do not understand him to say that he himself would have this war prosecuted to the extermination of the institution of slavery, but I merely understand him to say that it was an inference which he drew, and I might feel it to be a legitimate inference, that those who inaugurated this rebellion and seem determined to push it through to extremes might do this, and that by their act alone they might accomplish a destruction which the Abolitionist never could. This is a contest in which are bound up all the hopes of the civilized world. I shall vote against this, because I believe there can be no prosecution of such a war.

Mr. BROWNING (Rep., Ill.)—I cannot say I regret that this amendment has been proposed, though I shall certainly vote against it. I differ with the Senator from Virginia in supposing that the institution of slavery has nothing to do with involving the country in the calamity which now presses upon it. Had it not been for this institution of slavery, I cannot persuade myself to believe there ever would have been found a disloyal heart to the American Constitution upon the American continent. I believe the whole trouble has grown out of the institution of slavery, its presence among us, and in the opinions it engenders among its friends. The war, it is true, is not a war for the extermination of slavery. With the institution of slavery where it exists the General goverment has nothing to do, nor has the General government ever assumed the power in any way or shape to control this institution. This conflict has grown out of a struggle to expand it into countries where it had no right to go, and where our fathers never intended it should go. History gives no instance, in my judgment, of such long-suffering forbearance as there has been exhibited by the people of the free States in the endurance of outrages, wrong and oppression of every sort, at the hands of that institution, and those who maintain it. They have suffered this from their strong and enduring devotion to the General government, and to the institutions which the fathers achieved for us, and transmitted to us. I think I would not be mistaken in asserting that for every slave that has ever been seduced from the service of his owner by the interference of citizens of the free States with the institution where it exists, more than ten free white men from the free States have been outraged, and every privilege of freedom trodden upon, every right of person violated, by lawless mobs in the slave States. But we have borne it uncomplainingly, without a murmur, because we were willing to make sacrifices for the glorious institutions which were for the blessing of us all. We have not invited this war in the loyal States of this Union, and we are in no way responsible for the calamity that is now upon the country, and we gave no occasion for it. The world has never seen, and there is not in the history of man an instance of so stupendous a conspiracy, or so atrocious a treason, or so causeless a rebellion, as that which now exists in this country. And for what purpose? What wrong have we ever done to the institution of slavery? I am not prepared to admit, as some gentlemen take pains to explain, that this is not a war of subjugation. If it is not a war of subjugation, what is it? What was it set on foot for, if it was not for that sole, identical purpose, the very purpose to subjugate this atrocious rebellion that now exists in the country?

Mr. SHERMAN (Rep., Ohio) said it was not a war for the subjugation of a State. He would go as far as any living man to put down rebellion in the citizens, but the State would remain.

Mr. BROWNING—I trust so, but I will not stop to deal in technicalities. I care not whether you call it subjugation of people or of States. Where the people of a State, and who represent a State, are disloyal and banded together in treason against the government, I for one am for subjugating them, and you can call it subjugating a people or a State, as you please. I am for subjugation. I want this rebellion put down, and this atrocious treason punished, and the example given to the world that will teach them the power of the freemen on this continent to maintain constitutional government. The whole of this fight is about that, and nothing else. It is whether there shall be any longer such a thing as government on this continent. The very moment that you admit the doctrine—the astounding fallacy of secession—in any degree the government is overthrown, because they cannot coexist. If there be such a thing as the right of a State to secede at any time of her own will, and causelessly to dissever this Union and overthrow this government, then there is an end to all constitutions and all laws. That is the struggle today—for the life of this nation. They have assailed this life. We have not. All that the government has done, or proposes to do, is in necessary self-defence. It may be a little out of place, but I wish to say in response to assaults made on the Administration for the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, that I approve heartily and fully, to the uttermost extent that approval can possibly go, that act of the President of the United States, and so far from being deserving of rebuke, he would, in my judgment, have been faithless and recreant to every high and noble trust with which he was clothed, if he had not exercised that authority. There is, sir, in nations, as well as individuals, an ultimate right of self-defence, that transcends all written constitutions and laws. It inheres in political communities as well as in individuals. I concede that there is no written authority, no prescribed rule by which the President may suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*; but there is a law of necessity, inexorable and overmastering, which not only hallows the act but would make him subject to the severest animadversions if he failed either from intellect or want of moral nerve to exercise the act. Our Arsenals have been robbed, our Custom-Houses plundered, our Mints pilfered, and our Army and Navy corrupted, and every department of our government is reeking with treason. That is a part of the written history of the country. It had been given out that Northern men should be made feel Southern steel, and smell Southern powder. It had been declared by those who originated this treason, that before the dawning of another anniversary of our Independence, the flag of treason would float in triumph over the Capitol. Armed treason was understood to be on its way to seize the Capital. Suppose the prevention of that purpose could be accomplished in no other way than by the exercise, by the President, of the high prerogative of suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*. Would Senators still denounce the President, and complain that it was his duty to sit supinely by and witness the rending of the Constitution to tatters—witness the Capital of the nation enveloped in flames, and hordes of vandals desolating the city because there is no written authority? I understand that the Senator from Kentucky approves the refusal of the Governor to respond to the call of the President.

Mr. POWELL (Dem., Ky.)—The Capital was not in danger then. Virginia was in the Union. I believe that proclamation caused the secession of four States.

Mr. BROWNING said the Capital was in danger then, if ever, and contended that no loyal State could refuse to respond to the President's call. The way to secure peace was for the rebels to lay down their arms, and the States to return to their allegiance. Then peace would spread her pinions over the land. We have not the power to terminate this war instantly, though we intend to terminate it speedily. He was for having the rebellion put down, and for subjugation. I can speak only for myself, but I believe that I utter the sentiments which will burst from every heart in the Northern States of this Confederacy, that if our brethren of the South force upon us the distinct issue between the government on the one hand, and the institution of slavery on the other—if they force upon us the issue that the government must be overthrown, and all the hopes for civil liberty, and all the hopes of all the oppressed under all despotisms on earth, shall go down into a long, dark, dreary night of hopelessness and despair, or whether we shall retain the institution of slavery, I say that my voice and my vote shall be given for sweeping the last vestige of the barbarism from the face of the continent. I trust that necessity may not be forced upon us, but if it is, let us meet it like men, transacting high, holy and sacred duties, that are laid upon us, as conservators not only of government, but as conservators of the eternal principles of right and justice and freedom for the whole human family. And if, when that issue is forced upon us, we fail to meet it, the people of the North-west would deem us recreant to duty, and they would descend like an avalanche and haul us from the places we unworthily fill. I do not want this necessity, but it is better for the people to understand that if the issue is forced upon us, we intend to meet it manfully and for all time—to stand by the government, and if it is to go down, if not only this government, but the great brotherhood of mankind is to witness that unheard of, unspeakable calamity, the overthrow of constitutional government here, then let us go down in a manly effort to sustain and uphold it, and sweep away the cause which has brought upon us this terrible calamity.

Mr. POMEROY said he had the deepest sympathy for the Senator from Virginia, but he contended that slavery was the cause of all the trouble in the country since 1820. It was a day of sacrifices, and if slavery is the last, the South must make a sacrifice of it. The North was sacrificing everything, and bending under the load of a Southern repudiation to-day.

Mr. CARLILE contended that slavery did not, of necessity, produce the rebellion, and it was not justice to level artillery against the rights of property and people of one section. They had no right to come to his State and say we should not have the right of certain property which was recognized by law.

Mr. BROWNING said he never meant such a thing, unless the issue was forced on them by traitors.

Mr. LANE asked, if in the march of the army, there should be an insurrection of the slaves, whether he would have the army become the servants of traitors, and return slaves to traitorous masters?

Mr. CARLILE replied, quoting from Gen. Butler's proclamation, that, in the language of a man who loves his country, he wanted the army to be an army of deliverance from the reign of terror. If we make this a sectional war it will never end in the conviction. It was not a sectional war we had endured so long and worked so hard in. If it was a war to preserve the Union, and nothing else, then let it be known, and the earlier the announcement the sooner rebellion would be crushed out, and treason hide its head forever.

Mr. POWELL spoke, contending that it was evidently the object to abolish slavery. He hoped the Senator from Ohio would see it.

Mr. SHERMAN said he was not used to such a style of argument. Nobody wanted to abolish slavery unless the issue were forced on them, but, rather than one inch of the country be torn away by traitors, he would have the slaves liberated, yet he disclaimed any intention of the kind unless the issue was forced on them.

Mr. POWELL said the Senator from Kansas said slavery would not survive the march of the Union army.

Mr. LANE said he had said so. He believed the slaves would march when the army did, and he was not going to make a slave of himself to return them.

Mr. POWELL rejoined, contending that slavery was not a curse, and if there was an intent to destroy property it was war and robbery.

Mr. SHERMAN offered a substitute, that the purposes of the military establishment were to preserve the Union, defend property, and maintain the Constitution and authority of the Union.

Mr. FESSENDEN said he supposed that the amendment offered was simply to call out Senators. That game, he said, was played last winter. He thought the country wanted to understand what it meant. He appealed to Senators to let these things pass in silence, and not be misjudged, except by those who wish to misjudge us.

Mr. POLK claimed that the President did not issue his proclamation in defence of the Capital. It was a false pretence; and he said that in the case of the troubles in Kansas, Missouri was more sinned against than sinning.

Mr. SAULSBURY spoke in favor of Mr. Powell's amendment, urging against war and subjugation, and urging the adoption of the Crittenden compromise.

Mr. Lane's amendment was lost—Yeas 11, Nays 24.

Mr. BRIGHT (Dem., Ind.) said that there were evidently three parties in the Senate. He wanted to vote on the amendment. If the North-west believed it was a war for the abolition of slavery there would soon be less money and men from there.

Mr. CHANDLER (Rep., Mich.) said there were only two parties—Union men and traitors.

The question on Mr. Sherman's amendment was agreed to—Yeas, 49; Nays, 4. Messrs. Breckinridge, Johnson of Missouri, Polk and Powell voting in the negative.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE (Dem., Ky.) moved to add to Mr. Sherman's amendment: That the Army and Navy are not to be employed to subjugate any State, or reduce a Territory or Province, or for the abolition of slavery, which was lost—Yeas, 9; Nays, 30. Messrs. Breckinridge, Bright, Johnson of Mo., Kennedy, Latham, Nesmith, Polk, Powell and Saulsbury casting their votes in the negative.

The amendment as amended was then disagreed to, and the bill passed.

* See STANDARD of last week.

STATE OF SOCIETY AMONG THE CHIVALRY.

Correspondence of The New York Times.

ST. LOUIS, Sunday, July 14th, 1861.

IF the state of society among the chivalry of the Southern States bears any resemblance to that which the "true sons and daughters of the South" have cultivated in Missouri—and I believe it is as bad, if not worse—the present war may be considered a blessed infliction of Providence, to cleanse the whole body social in the South from the wickedness and corruption with which it has been poisoned for a series of years, by an unchecked indulgence in the pride, arrogance and tyranny arising from the relations between slaves and masters. Humanity has become extinct. Bravery is an unknown virtue, as every skirmish between our army and the rebels has abundantly proved; generosity, if it ever existed, has now been replaced by a feeling of hatred and cruelty, which leaves no room for the growth of a redeeming virtue. What young Democrat of the North does not remember the noble ideal of a Southern gentleman, which his principles forced him to create, in order to quiet the voice of conscience, declaiming loud against the accursed system of human bondage? Under such gallant, kind-hearted and generous masters, would not that system be almost a blessing? Ah! a few months' residence in any slaveholding community will quickly dispel that illusion, if the events of the last six months have not yet overthrown it. The people of the North may have their faults, but they are at least gentlemen, and observe the appearance of gentlemen in manners and speech. But enter a city wherein rebels—the *pure* Southerners—dare lift their heads high, and you will become sick and disgusted with the rowdyism pervading all classes, high and low. Most sickening is the *language* used by men, too, who pretend to be gentlemen, and look down with supreme contempt upon the benighted barbarians of the North. In delicacy of expression, the wretches of the Five Points far excel them; and the oaths and blasphemy uttered by people dressed in finest broadcloth and profusely ornamented with jewelry would do honor to the hardest swearing nation in the world, which, if I am not mistaken, is the Hungarian. But, the most disgusting feature in rebel society is the conduct of the ladies, who, in vulgarity of speech and manners, even manage to exceed their lords and masters. One hour's conversation with a "secesh belle," of this or any other Southern city, would, I am convinced, cure the most chronic case of sympathy with the chivalry of the South, which you could pick up in the North. When Home Guards pass through the streets, these ladies will not hesitate about calling them "G—d d—d Dutch," and even worse: or sending their little innocent children out on the street to use insulting language. The husbands, of course, are too cowardly to make any demonstration, for with men our soldiers would use very little ceremony. This low conduct has become too common here to excite any further astonishment, but it shows the rottenness of Southern civilization and the absolute necessity of a thorough cleansing out of the whole social system. The rowdy-spirit, which has gained the ascendency at the South, and rules it high over the conservative and Union-loving portion of the people, must be effectually quenched, and in such a manner as to silence it, at least, for several generations. Whether this can be accomplished by the very peaceful method of war, so popular with our Generals in Virginia, is another question.

AN ALTERNATIVE THE SOUTH MUST SHUN.

ANTI-SLAVERY discussion in this War-Congress is out of place, for the war claims the support of all true men, whatever their opinions of slavery. But the Northern Senators who participated in Thursday's debate did well in not shrinking from the explicit avowal that, while they regarded the war as waged solely for the supremacy of the Constitution, yet, if it should come at last to be a question whether the government or slavery should perish, the latter must take the death. The South cannot too clearly understand that. The preservation of the unity of this Republic is a foregone conclusion with the Northern people—the one fixed, supreme, determination, against which nothing will be suffered to weigh for an instant. They believe it to be the first of all necessities—that without it eternal war must rage, and limitless anarchy. They are therefore ready to sacrifice everything of their own to secure it; and, if that, most certainly they will not hesitate to sacrifice, if need be, what belongs to its enemies. We consider that the Constitution which has been the common ægis for both slave States and free States can continue so, and that slavery, though it shall no longer rule the government, may live at peace with it. But let the contrary be demonstrated, let it be fairly proved that slavery has contracted an undying enmity to the government of our fathers, and will not be satisfied with less than its destruction, then, woe to it, it is doomed. No power on earth can save it. This people are under a pledge to their fathers and to their children, to humanity and to heaven, to preserve the life of this nation; and, come what may, they will do it. We have no expectation that slavery will force this issue. The folly which prompted it to this rebellion cannot rise to such a pitch of suicidal infatuation. Still, experience has taught us not to count too confidently upon what this very *peculiar* institution may or may not do. It is well, at all events, that it should be forewarned. The Senators are to be commended for doing this in the clear, calm way they did. Let the South beware of pushing matters to the desperate pass where there shall be no escape from the alternative—death to the nation, or death to slavery. Between the two, the overwhelming millions, who love their country better than all else, would never for a moment hesitate.—*World.*

MARCHING TOWARD EMANCIPATION.

SPEECH OF EX-GOVERNOR BOUTWELL.

[At Lowell, on the 4th inst., Ex-Governor GEORGE F. BOUTWELL, a Republican of Democratic antecedents, delivered a speech, of which we give an extract.]

Now, then, I say here to-day that this contest, inaugurated by the rebels of the South, will have no successful and complete end until you in some way assert the doctrine that liberty is not the property of any race; that it is not the exclusive right of any class; that it does not belong to any nation, but that it is the God-given right of all the sons of men (applause). I do not say that the four millions of so-called slaves in the South are to be, without premeditation and without preparation, emancipated. I tell you that this contest marches logically, philosophically, and inevitably toward the emancipation of this people; and the citizen at the ballot-box, or statesman administering the government of this country, or the General who guides its armies, who does not admit that as an inevitable result of this contest, misunderstands the force of events, and is doomed to disappointment and disgrace.

I stand here to say one thing more: That this contest has no conclusion in which any patriot can take satisfaction except it be based upon the immediate emancipation of all the slaves in Maryland, in Virginia, and in the District of Columbia, with compensation to loyal citizens (applause). And I will tell you why. Washington, on the left bank of the Potomac, is to-day menaced by hostile hosts of rebellious traitors, who have come up from Texas and the Gulf of Mexico and the savannahs of the South; and I thank God I have yet the heart and spirit to say, that I do not wish to live in a country whose Capital may thus be menaced. I tell you, it is because slavery is in Virginia, because it is in Maryland, and in the District of Columbia, that those men are there. Do you believe that but for the admission of slavery, the men of Virginia, who glory in the fame and the name of the patriotic Henry, of Jefferson, of Pendleton, and greater than them all—Washington himself—would to-day be leading the first revolution the world has ever seen of tyrants against the people—this revolution distinguishably marked from all other revolutions that the world has ever seen, the rebellion of tyrants against the rights of the people and the existence of Constitutional government? Now, I say that whoever makes peace and unfurls that banner over the country without first in some way providing for the emancipation of the slaves in Virginia, Maryland and the District of Columbia commits an error and a wrong, and all generations shall pay the penalty thereof.

This war in which we are engaged is not a temporary affair; is not the work even of one generation of men, but the result of a conspiracy thirty years old, ripening into treason eleven years ago, into open war this year 1861. I am of those who believe that the men of the South who have staked everything dear to men upon the result of this contest will fight it out to the bitter end. One thing only stands in their way: They want means, material, and they need men to-day. We see how our own people, accustomed to the pursuits of ordinary industry—to the discipline of the schools, of the shops, of the manufactories, and of the farms—change their vocation, and take up the pursuit of war. I saw in an extract from a Richmond paper a few days ago, that in a year the men from your factories will be better soldiers than the Texas rangers. They are better soldiers to-day, because war is discipline; discipline is the result of brains systematically applied, and this war to-day, which we are waging successfully, is simply the power which we have to discipline ourselves, applied to the necessity in which war has placed us.

But this war on the part of these rebels is a necessity, and they could not escape from it any more than we can escape from maintaining this Union and the supremacy of that flag, and I will tell you why. This government is not strong enough to hold in bondage four millions of people; that is the difficulty. They may have Gen. Pierce or Mr. Buchanan to administer it; but I tell you, this country is not strong enough to hold four millions of slaves in bondage, and therefore they sought to flee from this country that they might establish a military slaveholding oligarchy, and extend slavery through Mexico, Central America, to the Isthmus of Darien. There is no safety or escape except in the emancipation of the negroes, and therefore it was a necessity on their part.

You have seen, within the past six months, that the Czar of all the Russias, having under his control one-sixth of the whole people of the globe, has emancipated forty millions of serfs, because that gigantic empire and that despotic form of government could not hold in slavery forty millions of people. I believe, and I thank God for it, neither this country nor any other government on the face of the earth is equal to holding three centuries four millions of negroes in bondage (cheers). Now, then, slavery goes down; I don't know when. Mr. Calhoun, within six months of his death, said to a gentleman in the confidence of the South, now at Richmond, not in her armies, but giving counsel and advice, a citizen of South Carolina, Mr. Calhoun said, within six months preceding his death: slavery will go down, sir, and it will go down in the twinkling of an eye. It is only known to the omniscient eye of Heaven whether this immediate contest does not portend the destruction of slavery in the twinkling of an eye (applause). If so, then God have mercy upon them who in their madness seek to maintain this system of human bondage in the decay of freedom (cheers).

THE ADVANCING ARMY AND THE SLAVES.

IT has been decided by our government that no fugitives shall be allowed to follow our army columns as they advance upon Richmond. This is a needful and timely regulation. The march of our troops will be through a region densely populated with slaves. There are about half a million of this population in the state, and probably, before James river is reached, at least two-fifths of them may, if they choose, get to our lines by a simple three hours' run. Making all allowance for that considerable class whom no hope of liberty would tempt away from their masters, and giving all due effect, too, to the frightful notions of Northern character studiously infused into the minds of the blacks, there can yet be no doubt that multitudes would pour in upon our advancing columns, were they to have a favorable reception. Hitherto, while our camps in Virginia have been stationary, fugitives who entered them have in no case been turned off; they have been fed and put to work, with the mutual understanding, we suppose, that the claims of their rebel masters upon them thereby ceased to exist. But now that our foes are in motion, this practice ceases, for two excellent reasons.

First, it would be impracticable. But comparatively few of the thousands and tens of thousands that would seek refuge could be put to useful service, and the hanging of such a body of idlers upon an army would be a fatal encumbrance. Saying nothing of the difficulty of subsisting them, they would be a constant hindrance to the freedom of movement indispensable to troops on the march. You might as well attach a chain and ball to the ancle of every soldier as to have this black dead-weight dragging at the heels of the army collectively. Even though political and moral considerations favored it, military necessities would most positively forbid; and, in all that relates to the campaign, these are of course paramount. In a military point of view, the idea of making our army a slave asylum is simply an absurdity.

But, *second*, even if allowable in a military way, it would bring confusion and disaster upon every true object of the war. Our army would assume the character of a slave liberating army, the very hour the black-following began. The South would at once take its errand to be pure and simple abolitionism. All the moral force that now attaches to it as the vindicator of constitutional law would disappear, and the struggle would change its ground entirely—no longer resting on the right of a government to enforce its authority, but on the yet higher right of a society to save itself from destruction. The war would at once become to the South a social necessity, and would be fought out with a desperation not otherwise possible. The pretext used by the conspirators to "fire the Southern heart" was that the government designed to destroy Southern institutions. There never was a falser imputation. But it is all the more necessary that no color should be given to it. If we have any desire to undeceive the dupes of this falsehood, any expectation of restoring the loyalty of the betrayed majority of the Southern people, the government by its practical action must show that it has no such ends as were imputed to it. It must in no form, whether legislative, judicial or military, lend its power to any abolitionizing work. And therefore all who value the Union and the Constitution will commend the wisdom and fidelity of the government in prescribing that our advancing armies shall have nothing to do with the slave population.

It is possible that a great number of slaves may take advantage of the condition of the country around them, and of the absence of their masters—great numbers of whom are in the rebel ranks—to make their escape, even though the Federal soldiers give them no protection. Perhaps whole neighborhoods may swarm with such flying fugitives. For that, however, our soldiers cannot be responsible, and it will be no part of their business to prevent it. If actual servile insurrection should break out with all its unutterable horrors, they would unquestionably suppress it at the first call of Gov. Pierrepont and the President. The laws of humanity would require this. But if it were only a peaceful secession of slaves, even though it took the form of an actual stampede, it would not be for them to arrest it. Our soldiers were never made to be slave overseers; and no man at the South, whether he be rebellious or loyal, must for a moment expect it. Whatever losses Virginia shall meet in this way, she must patiently take as one of the necessary consequences of her infatuation. It would not, we think, be hard to show that this wicked rebellion has put causes into operation which will, in the end, make Virginia a free State—and that, too, without the slightest interference on the part of the Federal government. The Slave Power of the State, in attempting to sell the State to Jeff. Davis, has sealed its own doom. It will never more be trusted by the people of the State, will lose all political influence, will sink into dishonor, and the principles of Western Virginia will become the ruling policy. This rebellion will tell terribly upon slavery, but not because of any action of the Federal government repugnant to the spirit of the Constitution.—*The World.*

THE CZAR AT MOSCOW—THE SERFS.

Correspondence of The Evening Post.

ST. PETERSBURG, June 15, 1861.

INTERESTING accounts come to us from Moscow of the enthusiastic reception there of Alexander II. A characteristic ceremony took place at the instance of a number of serfs—workmen in the factories—who had been liberated by the recent decree. They presented the Emperor with bread and salt on a gold plate, and delivered with it an address noticeable for its brevity. It reads as follows:

"*Gracious Sovereign and Liberating Father:*

"We thank thee for thy signal benefits to us, for the liberty thou hast bestowed upon us. Night and day we pray for thee: our wives, our children, our grandchildren, and our great-grandchildren will pray for thee. May the God of mercy preserve thee and give thee strength and firmness to achieve the loving work, so that all thy children and subjects confided to thee by God may bless thy name in future generations, even as we now bless the name of our liberating Father."

The plate of bread and salt was presented to the Czar by an old serf of about seventy years of age, who told the monarch he "was on earth what God was in heaven." The ceremony took place in a court-yard of the Kremlin, and the people afterwards begged permission to see their "mother," as they term the Empress. She responded to the call by appearing on the balcony.

Outbreaks more or less violent take place in various remote parts of the empire among the serfs, who misunderstand the ukase according to them their freedom, and think that they should have it at once and without the restrictions with which it is hampered. More of this in my next; the real facts of this self-liberating movement are but imperfectly understood in America.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

From The Springfield Republican.

THE conscientious devotion of the Northern mind evident than in its slowness to entertain the question of forcible emancipation. With the slave States in full rebellion, professedly for the protection of slavery, there is, undoubtedly, a feeling in the North that in some way a slave is more sacred as a piece of property than anything else. About the taking of a house or a ship-load of provisions from the enemy, we have no doubt; but we stop to question before taking a slave; and when Gen. Butler declared slaves to be contraband of war, we thought it a good joke rather than sound law. There does not exist a more perfect refutation of the charges of the South against the North—charges put forward as justification of rebellion—than the unwillingness of the North to entertain the idea of emancipating the slaves of the South. While emancipation is looked upon as among

...as held in bondage, and designs that the events of the time shall have a bearing upon their deliverance. We have always confessed the problem of emancipation to be beyond our power to solve; and have felt that Providence must point the way. If emancipation is what this war means, we shall know it in good time. It would be cheaply purchased at the price of all the sacrifice we are called upon to make.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 27, 1861.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

FIRST OF AUGUST CELEBRATION.

AGAIN the Anniversary draws near of one of the most beneficent and memorable events in the history of the world—ancient or modern—the Peaceful Emancipation of 800,000 slaves, the beginning of a great Act of Justice and Humanity, whose wisdom has at length compelled the acknowledgment of the world at large, even of the unwilling and prejudiced. The Emancipation of the slaves in the British West India Islands, on the 1st of August, 1834, ranks now in history as an event not less remarkable for its cheering results than for the benevolent and humane motives which inspired it.

The Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society invite the friends of freedom everywhere, all who are interested in the great events of human progress, and all who desire to see the barbarous, inhuman and unchristian slavery of our own land give place to the reign of Freedom, Justice and Peace throughout our borders, and throughout the world, to meet with them, at the well known and beautiful grove in ABINGTON, on THURSDAY, August 1st., 1861, in commemoration of the Day.

Let us all join to make this FESTIVAL OF FREEDOM worthy of the occasion, of the long line of effective meetings which have preceded it in honor of this event, and of the mighty object in behalf of which it is held—the cleansing of our own land from the curse and shame of human slavery.

Eloquent speakers will be present. Railroad trains will run at reduced fares, etc.

W. L. GARRISON,
E. H. HEYWOOD,
THOS. J. HUNT,
ELIAS RICHARDS,
ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE,
} Committee of Arrangements.

THE HOUR AND THE MEN.

IT has always been charged upon the American Abolitionists that they have been the occasion of the disturbance in the politics and business of the country which has arisen out of the agitation of the slavery question. We have never denied the impeachment; but, contrariwise, have always been willing to take the public blame along with the private consciousness of right. As this civil war goes on from blood to blood, it becomes us to be very clear in our vocation, and to be well assured that we have maintained it righteously as well as firmly. We do not deny that the present crisis has been hastened by the agitation in the moral elements which it was our mission to create. But we cannot assume the responsibility for the necessary consequences of the sin we were called upon to rebuke, for they were attached to it by the fiat of God himself. We have called on the guilty nation to flee from the wrath to come, and have pointed out the way of escape. It is not we, but He, that has brought upon the country the present punishment of its sins. The penalty was the inevitable, though slow, pursuer of the crime. It has overtaken the land sooner because of us than it would if we had never been raised up to urge on its avenging steps; but it was only a question of time, and of time that makes this speedier arrival a blessing and not a curse. Had the nation been permitted to continue in the dull moral lethargy in which it was plunged thirty years ago, Civil Liberty might have died out before it was known that there was anything amiss with it. The [illegible] conscience of the North, which found a feeble expression in the election of Mr. Lincoln, and also for the rage of the South—not a blind but an enlightened rage—which has made them rush on their own destruction in the passionate desperation of their maintenance of slavery. They saw the end from the beginning, and knew instinctively that slavery could not stand the light the Abolitionists were pouring upon it, and the severity of the tests to which they were subjecting it and all its works. And the Secession is the logical sequence of this truth. Slavery and liberty cannot live together forever. The resolute protest of Anti-Slavery has hindered Slavery from dominating the whole country, and the only chance of eking out its life was to have a domain in which it should be supreme. The punishment of North and South must have come, sooner or later, at all events. It has come sooner than it would, because of the Abolitionists; but it is also lighter to bear and more possible to be shortened because of their labors.

It has always been our felicity that everything helped us onward to victory. This was a necessary and philosophical consequence of our being in the right. They that were with us were more than they that were against us, and all the devices of Satan were brought to nought and laughed to scorn by Him that sitteth in the Heavens. Every effort to strengthen slavery in the government and at the North, though apparently successful at first, and though supported by nearly all that was strong or that was accounted wise, has resulted in weakening it and in bringing about the present condition of things. It was the endeavor of the slaveholders, ever wise in their generation, to fasten their yoke upon the whole country by the help of willing tools in Congress and at the North, that has arrayed the entire force of the North against themselves. Had the merits of slavery never been mooted and its rightfulness never questioned, there need have been no Gag-Rule, no Texas Annexation, no Mexican War, no Fugitive Slave law, no Missouri Repeal, no Kansas dragooning; but then there would have been no Northern unanimity, no keener moral sense and more enlarged political wisdom, no perception of the inextricable intertwining of rights and of the impossibility of their possession by one race which basely denied them to another. The problems of this Nation's destiny, complicated as they are by its crimes, can only be solved through its suffering. We of the North have been the allies of the South in the cruelest warfare ever waged by the strong against the weak. It is no more than just that we should find ourselves exposed to the horrors, the privations and the losses of a war which that very complicity of ours has brought upon us. Let our contingent of blood and treasure be what it may, our losses and sufferings will be but as the light dust of the balance, compared with the mountain-weight of cruelties and oppressions with which we have helped their enemies at the South to overwhelm the unhappy black race there.

This has been a week of wars and rumors of wars—of conflicting rumors, sometimes giving the victory to the one side and sometimes to the other. We yield to none in our sense of the terrible issues of war and of the wounds which it deals to Civilization and Progress. But we are clear that this war is one of Civilization and of Progress, occasioned by that other war of Barbarism and of Retrogression, in which we have been assisting for the last seventy years. It is the critical struggle of our political Constitution to recover its normal condition, just as what is called disease is but an endeavor of Nature to restore that balance of bodily powers which we call health. Had there been no slavery, there could have been no war, and all the wounds which Civilization has had in the house of them that call themselves her friends would have been saved, and she would have reared an empire in this Western World such as prophets and poets, if not kings, desired to see. But, there being slavery, war was its inevitable consequence, and hence is to be looked at as the effort of Nature to rid the nation of the perilous stuff that weighs upon the heart. And in order that this may be effectual, it cannot be but that suffering and pain must be endured. It is only through such that it can be purged and perfected. We do not look, therefore, upon the reverse which our arms have just encountered as an unmitigated evil. It must needs be that reverses come, and out of them, rather than from unvarying success, do we look for the deliverance to issue. After having warmed the adder in our bosoms until it has waxed strong and venomous, and sharpened its fangs and replenished its poison-bag, it is too much to expect that our heel shall bruise its head without resistance and without damage to ourselves—without fierce resistance and without bloody damage.

We have always believed and said that the enemy were stronger than the people and press have given them credit for being. Disastrous defeat and rout may be the only way of making us realize the terrible nature of the struggle we have been deserving, and of the fierceness of the wrath we have been so long laying up against the day of wrath. That may be the bitter remedy that is to medicine us to our cure. That the issue of this conflict must be for the advancement of civil liberty and the deliverance of the slave, we still firmly believe. The hour may be even now at hand when the government, for the preservation of its existence, must proclaim the EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES, under the war powers of the Constitution. It cannot do this until its extremity is extreme; for nothing less could release it from its oath to maintain the Constitution as it is. If the abolition of slavery be recognized as the object of the war, it would draw to our side the sympathy of the entire world, and give a purpose and epic unity to its action which it now lacks. Of one thing we are sure, that let the worst come that can out of this struggle, it cannot be so bad as the consequences of a longer tame submission to the Slave Power. The spirit of resistance which has now been aroused can never be laid, as long as that Power endures. And it may be—yea, it must be—that out of its very apparent victories may proceed its utter and exterminating defeat.

BACK TO VIRGINIA.

A FEW years since, the Old School Presbyterian Church, in this city, of which the Rev. Dr. Gardiner Spring has long been the pastor, chose for his colleague the Rev. W. J. Hoge, a thorough-paced Virginian and an out-and-out defender of slavery. The Church consisting mainly of wealthy and fashionable people, and Dr. Spring being an ardent opponent of abolitionism, if not an avowed champion of slavery, the congregation and its pastors jogged on pleasantly together until the breaking out of the slaveholders' rebellion. Dr. Hoge was immensely popular, rarely failing, when he preached, to draw a full house. The well-known fact that he held slavery to be a divine institution, and regarded it as consistent with Christianity and in accordance with the highest civilization, to breed human beings for the market like colts, calves and pigs, was not regarded as affording any ground of objection to him as the pastor of a Church in New York. In the uprising of the patriotic North that so suddenly followed the bombardment of Fort Sumter, Dr. Spring made haste to weave for himself a surplice whose folds flashed with the brightest of "stars" and the gayest of "stripes"; but Dr. Hoge's pro-slavery convictions were too deep, his sympathies with the South too strong, to permit him to follow the example of his venerable associate. While, in the cant phrase of a hollow orthodoxy, he confined himself, in his public ministrations, to "the preaching of Christ and him crucified," he did not hesitate, in private intercourse, to avow his sympathy with the Southern rebels. This created an excitement in the Church and congregation, some not liking to hear the "gospel" from the mouth of a Secessionist, and others pleading that he should be allowed the "largest liberty" of political opinion. The storm finally waxed so violent, that Dr. Hoge sent in his resignation. On Sunday last he preached his farewell sermon, and on Monday evening held a levee at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, where he received the farewell greetings of his fellow-secessionists.

Imagine what would have been the fate of a Northern clergyman, settled over a congregation in Richmond, if he had dared to avow himself a friend to the North in the present conflict! Would he have been permitted, think you, before "taking himself off," to preach a farewell discourse and hold a levee in the principal hotel of the city? Nay, he might have considered himself fortunate if he escaped a coat of tar and feathers, or even a hanging, at the hands of a Committee of Vigilance. But Dr. Hoge, at the very hour when thousands of the brave young men of New York were baring their bosoms to Southern bullets and bayonets at Bull's Run, was permitted to avow his "treason" to a crowded congregation, and to say, "Ever since the beginning of this national evil, my heart has yearned toward my beloved South, and especially the dear old Commonwealth of Virginia. I have longed to share their privations, their danger, and their destiny, whether of humiliation or triumph." And on the very evening when New York was mourning her children whose heart's blood had just moistened the soil of the Old Dominion, and when in many a household there was a cry of anguish and sorrow for husbands, sons or brothers slain in battle, Dr. Hoge was exchanging congratulations with his friends at a fashionable hotel, with none to molest or make him afraid! Such is the difference between the freedom of speech in New York and what is called liberty in Virginia!

MR. POMEROY'S BILL.

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, UNTO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."

THE following is a copy of the bill introduced in the United States Senate on the 16th inst., by Mr. Pomeroy of Kansas:

A BILL to Suppress the Slaveholders' Rebellion.

Whereas, By Art. 1., Sec. 8, of the Constitution of the United States, Congress has power "to provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States," "to raise and support armies," "to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces," "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union," "to suppress insurrection and repel invasion, and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers"; and

Whereas, The creation of the Union by the people of the original thirteen States was a mutual pledge of both People and States to a Republican form of government, guaranteed to *each* by the united force of all; and

Whereas, In securing this end, if to repel the encroachments of despotic institutions from without be the well-settled policy of this American government, much more is it essential to its *self-preservation* that in "providing for the general welfare" the United government should crush from the soil of the Union every germ of despotism that threatens its liberties; and

Whereas, Slavery in this Republic has culminated in a formidable rebellion, which threatens the liberties of the whole nation; and

Whereas, The rise of the Slave Power within its limits proves how utterly incompatible with Republican institutions is every form of despotism; and

Whereas, The great question before this nation, which it is called upon to settle now, and settle forever, once for all, and for which the loyal people and States of this country are pouring out their blood and lavishing their treasure, is, whether *slavery* shall die and American freedom shall live;

Therefore, By virtue of the Constitution, as herein set forth, and as a great *military necessity* forced upon us by the rebellion,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress assembled, That, from and after the passage of this act, there shall be no slavery or involuntary servitude in any of the States of this Union that claim to have seceded from the government, and are in open and armed resistance to the execution of the laws and the provisions of the Constitution of the United States; and

Be it further enacted, That, immediately upon the passage of this act, the President of the United States shall cause his proclamation to be issued, setting forth the immediate and unconditional emancipation of all persons held as slaves in any of the aforesaid States, under the laws thereof; and also ordering all officers to give protection to all such emancipated slaves as shall ask it, and accept the services of all who may tender them in behalf of the government, if in the judgment of such officers such services shall be useful or necessary to the prosecution of this war.

It is to be lamented that this bill was not promptly passed, and the war thus put upon grounds which could not fail to command the sympathy of the friends of free principles the world over. How much longer will the people of the North consent to stultify themselves by pledges to maintain intact the diabolical compromises with slavery which have brought the nation to the verge of ruin, exposing it alike to the scorn of men, and the retributive judgments of God? Let us hope that the bitter experiences of the war are gradually preparing them for an act which would unite earth and heaven in one grand anthem of liberty and peace.

MARIUS R. ROBINSON, of Salem, Columbiana Co., Ohio, is a local agent of THE STANDARD, to receive payments from old or new subscribers.

ENGLISH SURPRISE AT AMERICAN INDIGNATION.

[The following observations, from the pen of that clear-sighted and unswerving friend of freedom, the Rev. Dr. FURNESS of Philadelphia, will, we venture to hope, be received on the other side of the water in the spirit of candor and good-will by which they are so manifestly pervaded.—*Ed. Standard.*]

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

IF the principles and consequences involved were not so serious, there would be something amusing, beyond anything that has yet appeared in *Punch*, in the simplicity of the surprise which the English press manifests at the vehement indignation kindled all over the North at the bare idea of a recognition of the piratical Confederacy of the South by the British government. No Scotchman, no Yankee, in any sudden emergency, ever turned his back with a more exquisite *naiveté* upon the most obvious considerations of personal honor, consulting only his own safety or advantage with the amusing air of doing the right thing, than our British friends seemed disposed to do at the first blush of the present American crisis.

We thought we had a tolerably correct notion of the ignorance of the English people in regard to this part of the world. We were aware that it is only of very late years that they have taken any pains to acquire anything like precise information concerning us. When one, of their ablest periodicals, in writing of present affairs, speaks of "Columbia," meaning the District of Columbia, and another states that the North depends upon the South for manufactures (*Spectator, May 4th*), we are not overwhelmed with amazement. Such ignorance is hardly more than we had been used to expect. But that any intelligent boy, in a country in which "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is understood to have generally circulated, could be so blind to the character of this Southern outrage as not to perceive that the government of that country might just as decently entertain the idea of restoring the old Algerine dynasty as of recognizing the Southern Confederacy, it had not entered into our minds to suppose. We were not prepared, we confess, to find the English people stupefied by their ignorance of us to the degree now patent.

There were two prominent features of the present conflict which we thought the blindest must see. One the slightest glance at the map makes evident: *The free States are all on one side, the slave States on the other.* The other fact, which almost every item of Southern intelligence that has gone abroad has rendered equally evident, is, that *the sole grievance for the redress of which the slave States have broken out into rebellion is the threatened loss of the liberty, which they claim, to buy and sell and hunt human beings.* The people of England, even her statesmen, may have very confused notions of American geography. But how they could miss seeing that the sole cause of our present trouble is an assault made, not only upon the American Union, but upon the principles which it is the pride and glory of England to have been the foremost in maintaining, has amazed us beyond expression. The faction, to crush which our National government has been forced to take up arms, rebels against the freest institutions ever established among men—institutions which only Englishmen or the sons of Englishmen could have founded. It aims to build a State which, from an English point of view, must, of necessity, be hostile to the human race. So manifestly, from the very first, has such been the character of the great Southern riot, which the North has risen to put down, that the excitement of indignant wonder caused among us by the intelligence that the proposal to recognize it as the inauguration of a new nation was *not* instantly scouted in England with a mingled roar of ridicule and reprobation, was hardly less than that caused by the sacrilegious attack on Fort Sumter. Had we been told that the mother country was proposing to recognize the Thugs, or to initiate measures for the reestablishment of the Barbary States, we could not have been more profoundly moved. That England, whose history is the history of the birth and growth of liberty, should raise her hand from the parchment upon which she had just engrossed the sublime act of West India emancipation, to extend it in amity to a State whose first principle is African bondage, and thereby raise that State to the dignity of a national position, is an idea which, for its extravagance, baffles "the Orientalism of our Western imagination."

What has helped to keep our wonder and indignation at the boiling point is the persistency with which the idea of the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, as a possibility, is tolerated among our English brothers, in the face of so august a fact as the unparalleled unanimity with which twenty millions of human hearts from Maine to California have suddenly begun to throb and beat in condemnation of this most foul assault upon the holiest interests of the human race. It is in no vainglorious spirit that we make an illusion to this fact, for God knows we have no reason for self-conceit. It is to no wit or policy of ours that the uprising of the North is due. Up to the very moment of the great change, which took place all over the North as fast and as far as tidings of the assault upon Fort Sumter went, we were busy, thousands of us, including most of our leading men, racking our brains to spin some thread of compromise across the path of the coming trouble, that we might be safe, no matter at what sacrifice of principle and honor. While one part of the nation were thus occupied and the rest slumbered and slept, the course of events moved on, and there came the electric force that flashed into all hearts, awakening one of the great instincts of human nature. A great law, which is only another name for the providence and power of God, came into action, grinding compromises and party distinctions into dust. All minds were animated by one and the same idea. By a higher than the will of man, even by that Will which is recorded in the constitution of things, this wondrous change of public feeling was produced. And such a demonstration of the momentous interests involved in the present crisis should have brought all men to their senses, and made the English people see that the Southern movement, which had stirred up such a force in resistance to it, was the last movement in the world to receive their countenance and be taken under their protection.

Even if we had thought that the progress and the fortunes of these free Northern States were matters of no special interest in the eyes of the English nation, we should hardly have been less moved than we were at the spectacle presented by our mother country, the honored head of the sacred cause of freedom and humanity, striking hands with a crew of slaveholders. But we have been led to think that this free North was at last becoming an object of kindly regard to the people of England. It had well nigh faded from our memory that England had driven our fathers from her, and had taken no notice of them until they grew so strong and wealthy that she sought to enrich herself and gratify her love of power by oppressing them and by denying them the rights of Englishmen. We had all but forgotten how her treatment of them had stirred their English blood, and driven them to resist her exactions and compel her to acknowledge their independence. Three quarters of a century were fast obliterating from our minds these bitter memories. And although the growth of the mutual regard which one blood and one language unite to foster has not gone on without occasional interruptions, yet, on the whole, we have been for some time accustomed to look upon it as the manifest destiny of Great Britain and these United States to be bound together as no other two nations ever have been in the history of mankind.

In this faith we were recently greatly strengthened when the British government sent the heir of the throne to make us a visit. England came to us herself over the water in the person of her young Prince. We hailed his appearance among us as the most significant token she could give us of our recognized kindred. How the twenty millions of the North rose up as one man to welcome him, and how rudely he was treated the moment he crossed the Southern border, we thought that the people of England had been duly informed, and that they were intelligent enough to draw the due inferences. The Prince's reception testified to the absolute unity of the people of the North and the English people, while it intimated how un-English the practice of slaveholding has rendered the men of the South. Had the Queen come instead of her son, she would never have known, while in the free States, that she had passed the boundaries of her own magnificent empire; she might naturally have imagined herself in the midst of her subjects *par eminence*, since the homage was disinterested, and the only peculiarity of it that might have arrested her notice would have been the absence of the servility to rank which our travellers in England have sometimes observed there. Such a downright, old-fashioned English welcome was extended to the Prince, it was impossible to doubt the cordial union of the two peoples. Although it appears to have passed out of the minds of the English, it has left a lasting impression here; and consequently, we were very poorly prepared for the coolness with which the insulting idea of conferring national dignity upon our rebel slaveholders has been discussed in England. Indeed, how could we help being deeply wounded? It would have shamed our English blood if a strong sentiment of indignation had not instantly been awakened all over the North.

But it is not these free States alone that are aggrieved. In treating the recognition of the Southern Confederacy as a possible thing, England flings dirt upon her own escutcheon, and insults freedom and humanity in a manner the most pointed; for, by recognizing the independence of the Confederate States, she would make herself responsible for their existence. They cannot exist without her countenance. It is too late in the day—England is too far advanced on the high-way of Progress and Liberty to stop and help build up a community founded upon the violated rights of our common humanity. W. H. F.

DEATH-BED REPENTANCE AND CLERICAL ANTI-SLAVERY.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

A DAY or two since, a Boston newspaper had an article on the recent action of the large clerical and religious associations on national affairs, which closed with these words:

"We are, therefore, prepared to say that the moral sentiment of the great body of Northern Christian people is most heartily and decidedly on the side of those measures which the General government are prosecuting to bring rebellion to an end, and to cause the star-spangled banner to wave again over the whole land."

It would seem that it might be something strange and new, that "*the great body*" *of the Church and clergy should be "decidedly on the side of the government,"* in the present crisis. One could suppose from such an announcement that, at some time or other, it had not been so—that, in some great national commotion, the government was on one side, and the Church and pulpit on the other. This may have been true in some distant country, but certainly never in this.

Was it Bonaparte who said, "God seems to be always on the side having the heaviest battalions"? The Church, claiming, boasting to be *of God*, as well as on his side, of course should be included in that most significant distinction. Somewhere I have read, however, that Frederick the Great struck the name of God from his banner; declaring that, "in such a work as war, God could not possibly have a hand"!

But just as slavery has involved this whole country in war, and the North *seems* almost a unit in its bloody determination to resist its insolent Southern supporters, just now, "the great body of Northern Christians" have come also with the mustering hosts; lending all their sacramental influence, their sermons and prayers (and their swords, too) to "*kill, slay* and *destroy*" the very men who, last year, sat with them at the communion table, rejoicing in the fellowship of "one Lord, one Faith, and one Baptism"!

The Abolitionists have always paid the pulpit the compliment of believing and insisting, that should it only denounce slavery as a heinous sin and crime, and treat slaveholders and their accomplices *as sinners* and *criminals*, the evil would wither and die under so powerful a testimony. But the pulpit has denounced *anti-slavery*, instead; and preached down Garrison and his few friends as the very "devil and his angels." The mob and ministry united in the fell work, and so anti-slavery has been one perpetual "*auto da fé*" for thirty years!

All last winter, the hyena howl of mobocracy was heard on the track of the Abolitionists, from the Atlantic to beyond the Mississippi. And all last winter, "Doctor South-side Adams" was writing a book, which he entitled the "Sable Cloud," defending, and even extolling, slavery; and excusing slaveholders in their diabolisms, clear down to feloniously seizing all the Federal property on which they could lay their villanous hands, as remorselessly as they ever plundered a slave. A "Sable Cloud," indeed! A blacker, surely, never smoked up from the chimnies of perdition. And nearly every Doctor of Divinity in the land was overshadowed by that same "Cloud." And the mob went unrebuked by the whole people, Governor Andrew, the Massachusetts and other Legislatures, President Lincoln, the Republican and every other party, and, of course, the Church. Such has been the past.

And now another scene opens. The Slave Power, long accustomed to rule, does not yet propose to lay down the sceptre for so slight a cause as the election of a Republican President, and hence the war; "*Union*" the battle-cry of the North, "*Rule or Ruin*" that of the South; and liberty is spurned by both.

The Church, believing (what is not really true) that the North is nearly or wholly united in its determination to subjugate all the rebels, and restore the original order, has indeed thrown her ponderous self into the swollen stream of Northern wrath, and now swims exultantly with the current, as ever is her wont; and the newspapers celebrate the *offering*, as though some new Curtius had leaped into the gulf for the national salvation.

The Church is, indeed, "on the side of the National government"; and there she was before; and for the same, to her, sufficient reason, because it was the side of the National government. While Northern politicians recognized slaveholders (secessionists, traitors and all) as worthy to hold place and wield power, the Church hailed them as fellow-disciples of a common Lord. Slaveholding in South Carolina, or slave-breeding in Virginia was no abatement in the one case, no obstacle in the other. Dr. Adams could even defend secession and seizure of public property as easily as President Lincoln could declare the total inferiority of the black man, or Judge Taney decide judicially that he had no rights whatever, "which the white man is bound to respect!" The State was one, politically—the Church one, ecclesiastically, from Madawiska to Mexico.

But as soon as politicians carry the quarrel for loaves and fishes, for place and power, from words to blows, from ballots to bullets, the pulpit, true to its own instincts, hastens to "the side of the strongest battalions." And the ministers beg to be made chaplains of regiments, mustered to shoot down the disciples who, last year, sat at the same sacramental board, and joined in "concerts of prayer" for the death of Theodore Parker and the downfall of anti-slavery!

In March, Dr. South-side Adams comes to market with "Sable Clouds" to sell. In April, the President and politicians, discovering that secessionists and traitors are not what the umbrageous Doctor has described, send a force to reduce them to order and obedience. Quick as thought, our doctorated peddler throws down his pack in the market-place, scampers home, and the next Sunday preaches so eloquently in support of that very war, that his congregation, on the spot, raise a contribution of between two and three thousand dollars for its "vigorous prosecution!"

And if the Church could say,

"In Adams's fall,
We sinned all,"

so she might now add, in his resurrection we are all made alive; for to the Church and pulpit, *generally*, almost the millennium of anti-slavery has thus suddenly come.

But may it not be asked, to what purpose is this "new birth," so instantaneous, so mysterious? For thirty years, in the midst of obloquy, and scorn, and scoffing, the pulpit often leading in the persecution, the Abolitionists have endeavored to awaken the nation, Church and all, to consideration on the guilt and danger of permitting and committing the sin and crime of slavery. For thirty years, we have held slavery to be always "a heinous sin in the sight of God." The Church and clergy, on the other hand, have proclaimed the very opposite doctrine. To the Abolitionists, slavery has been the great destroying "DRAGON" in the Visions of Patmos. To the Church, that same monster has been God's own "*angel, flying in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach*," especially to the benighted millions of Ethiopia. In two printed volumes has Dr. Adams urged that doctrine with most unhallowed zeal, and such ability as he possesses. And who stands higher than he in the Northern Church? To-day, the Church stands convicted of either lies and hypocrisy the most *unpardonable*, or of a blindness and darkness the most *unaccountable!* And whichever is true, she shows her unfitness, unworthiness and sublime incapacity to lead in any great work of human redemption.

Not even her spleen and spite toward the Abolitionists seem in the least to have abated. It is still her boast that she prayed Theodore Parker to death and to hell. The like of the now faithful Cheever, and even of Beecher (only a kind of anti-slavery comet), are a stench in her holy nostrils; and Garrison, even to the New York *Independent*, is one of "*the vilest of infidels*"; a whole incarnation of "Beelzebub, the prince of devils."

The Church professes, and doubtless very justly, a dread of what she calls "death-bed repentance." But on the sin of slavery, where is the evidence of even death-bed, still less of genuine, repentance on her part? Has she done, or proposed to do, justice to the slave, to the free colored people, or to those who, for thirty years, have stood their friends, through trials and crucifixions worthy the rule of a Nero or a Torquemanda? Or does she expect to wash her own sins away in the blood of her Southern Confederates in crime, with whom, last year, she sat at sacrament, and knelt in prayer for long life to slavery and sudden confusion and overthrow to the Abolitionists? PARKER PILLSBURY.

Concord, N. H., July, 1861.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, July 22, 1861.

THE slavery question *will* connect itself not only with the war, but with all the doings of Congress. In vain do the political managers try to keep it in abeyance—the thing is impossible. Pomeroy, of Kansas, introduced a bill into the Senate "to put down the Slaveholders' Rebellion," and the title of the bill at once angered the slaveholders left in that body. Mr. Breckinridge was very indignant, in his remarks the other day, that any one should have insulted the slaveholders of the South by offering a bill *with such a title* to the Senate! "Does the Senator deny that it is a Slaveholders' Rebellion?" asked Bingham. "I do; I do!" replied the Kentuckian, with great spirit and boldness. So the matter passed; but a few days after, Powell endeavored to get the Senate to solemnly agree in one of its bills that the war shall not be waged against the institution of slavery. This gave rise to a discussion which lasted for three hours, in which Senator Lane of Kansas made the speech of the session, and in which he settled some of the past accounts of Kansas with the slaveholders.

The new Senator from Virginia (Carlile) did not relish the strong meat offered to him by the somewhat rough Kansas Senator, and protested that it made him sick at the stomach. But the protest did no good. One Senator after another followed in pretty much the same strain; even John Sherman and Browning of Illinois could not fail to say that if slavery stood in the way of the war, why, then, slavery must be crushed out! I know the Democrats fight hard against this doctrine, but it is making a clean sweep with the people, and the politicians will have to give way to it. In the House the same doctrine obtains among all the Republican members. Doubtless the most of them prefer not to have anything to say respecting the slavery question at this juncture, if they can avoid it. They prefer to let the question settle itself by and by, and to allow the people to be educated by the war to that pitch of courage and humanity necessary to not only end the conflict speedily, but to end slavery with it. Our soldiers are already up to this plane of thought and feeling, as any one can see who has witnessed their conduct towards fugitive slaves and colored people generally upon slave soil. It is quite possible that the officers, in some cases, are yet zealous to carry out the wishes of the slave-masters in regard to this species of property. It is not so with the rank and file. In this city there has been a succession of occurrences where soldiers have interfered with our policemen when they were carrying off negroes to jail. This sympathy for the oppressed race can't be suppressed among our troops, and it will make havoc with slavery wherever the war goes.

Two or three days ago, I saw two policemen taking a negro to the magistrate's office, using him rather roughly on the way. At last the colored man remonstrated with one of them against his roughness, and the reply was an extra jerk of the coat collar, which came near throwing the negro off his feet. Some volunteer soldiers were standing on the sidewalk and witnessed this performance, when they instantly interfered. They did not object, they said, to the arrest of the negro, but he should not be abused in that fashion; if he was, they would rescue him. The officers of the law were at first inclined to attempt to arrest the interfering soldiers, but fearing that they would be severely punished, relinquished their purpose and led the prisoner along the rest of the way in a more decent manner. I do not allude to this little incident to justify the interference of the soldiers, but to show the feeling of the troops towards the colored man on slave soil. I could mention a hundred similar occurrences in and about Washington, which have come within my personal knowledge, and they all go to show that a great change has come over the common people. The old prejudice against color is diminishing. The moment you take a Northern mechanic and put him in our volunteer army on slave soil, his feeling against colored people vanishes. He thinks only of the white slave-master as his enemy and the enemy of this country, and the slave as our natural ally and friend.

As I remarked in a previous letter, there will be no legislative action at this session upon the slavery question. There is not time for it, and the general feeling is, that it is not best to anticipate results. But next winter the entire question *will* come up, and will be carefully considered. Meantime, the war will go on, and by the first of December it will clearly be seen whether the Federal government has the power or not to crush out the rebellion by the use of ordinary means. If it has not, the only question for consideration and decision will be—shall the Southern Confederacy be recognized, or shall the government make use of slavery for the overthrow of the rebels?

The House of Representatives is very far advanced in the business of the session, and could adjourn at almost any time, if the Senate were ready. But honorable Senators must and will talk. Breckinridge and Bayard *would* give to the country their justification for the semi-treason of which they are guilty, and Northern Democrats, like Latham of California, wish to express their views (very peculiar they are, too) upon the war, and why they support it, in their forcible-feeble style. There does not seem to be the slightest difficulty in either branch of Congress in passing all the measures of the Administration when they can be got at. The only difficulty is the penchant for talking, which is very strong among certain Senators. All the bills pass when reached. Even the Tariff amendments, as doctored up by Thaddeus Stevens of the Ways and Means Committee, passed. There was a very serious opposition to his amendments. In fact, a heavy majority of the House disliked his heavy duties on sugar, coffee and tea, while he refused to follow the advice of Secretary Chase in his recommendation that the duty on iron and steel should be reduced. The object of the proposed reduction was an increase of revenue, but Pennsylvania interests, or her supposed interests, would not admit of the reduction.

Every vote in either branch of Congress upon the war exhibits an enthusiastic willingness of the people, through their Representatives, to vote immense amounts of men and money to carry it on. The members now begin to demand the *immediate* reenforcement of our army upon the "sacred soil" of Virginia. We need fifty thousand more men between the Capital and Manassas Junction, that the rebels may get an adequate idea of the power of the loyal States. Freedom has given us the advantage of numbers, and it is proper that we should avail ourselves of it.

I have just seen in *The Sunday Chronicle*, of this city, an article written by Col. Forney, the newly elected Secretary of the Senate, which gives one a vivid idea of the change which the war has created in the public sentiment toward the institution of slavery. Read the following extract, remembering that Mr. Forney supported Mr. Buchanan for the Presidency in 1856, and Douglas last fall:

"The extinguished candidate of the secessionists for President in the late campaign, now their most eloquent advocate in the Senate, toiled for two long hours on Wednesday last to extract from the Republicans certain hostile admissions that they were intent upon destroying the domestic institutions of the South.

"But what has the experience of the last two months proclaimed to all mankind? Let us answer, that it has proclaimed a truth, and made practical, and plain, a destiny which all the Abolitionists that have ever lived since the days of Wilberforce have failed to reach.

"*It has pronounced the doom of slavery upon this continent.* The worst enemy of the institution of slavery is Jefferson Davis; and those who follow his lead and take arms in his cause and obey his orders, are the unconscious Abolitionists of the hour. Vain the protestations of the Conservatives of the free States—vain the ready proffers of compromise on the part of loyal men of the slave States—vain the appeals of the thousands of neutrals in this latter section, who contend that having no part in this strife, they should not be involved by those who began it. The fiat has gone forth, and if Mr. Lovejoy in the House, and Mr. Sumner in the Senate, not to speak of the hundreds and thousands of men in the North who have preached and prayed against slavery, were, to-morrow, to unsay all their prophecies and to recant all their judgments, and to cry out that slavery was an enshrined divinity, they could not stay the current which has set in—they could not stop the tide commenced by Jefferson Davis and his accomplices."

When "Democrats" talk in this style, we may be sure that there is something in it—that slavery is *really* in danger.

P.S.—I will not attempt to give the facts of the great battle at Bull's Run, nor comment upon it. As I close, the accounts are too conflicting—the facts too much confused by the dust and smoke of the battle-field, to enable one to judge of their real character. AVON.

LETTER FROM DR. CHEEVER.

[The following letter was not intended for publication, but we are sure that it contains nothing which Dr. Cheever would not as willingly communicate to the readers of THE STANDARD as to our own private ear.]

LONDON, July 3, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. JOHNSON: Many a time have I thought of writing you, but tidal waves of other correspondence have prevented. Now, at length, as the time draws near for our intended departure from England to America, I must take time for a line, if but a line, to express the conviction, anew, of late forced upon my mind, of the importance of preparing the public mind in the North for the adoption (and that speedily, or it will be too late) of John Quincy Adams's suggestion of the necessary and legitimate use of the War Power for a declaration and enforcement of emancipation by the government. If this is not pressed upon the people, and with great and instant earnestness, the meeting of Congress, and the deliberations there, may prove fatal, may render any such measure by the government impossible. But, on a careful examination of what is before us, it does seem that this measure is the only opening through which our government will dare to act, as a government, against slavery, or will think they can constitutionally act; and therefore this action must be taken before the war is terminated by any compromise; it must and will thus be terminated, unless the measure of a national emancipation be adopted as a war measure; for otherwise the North cannot conquer the South, cannot possibly do this but by abolition, and cannot carry abolition but as a war measure; and without this, the utmost they can hope, with all their efforts, can be only to bring the South to a compromise, which, for the sake of the border States that have not joined the South, the North will say they are bound in honor and good fellowship and gratitude to agree to in behalf of slavery. Humanly speaking, there seems no immediate result from this war possible in favor of emancipation, unless emancipation be governmentally declared as a war measure. But it will not thus be declared unless the people put the government up to it, unless they do, as it were, force them to it.

Now, it seems to me that not half enough is said on this point in the papers, even in those favorable to abolition. The thing needs to be reiterated and enforced as the great one act of justice and necessity. Cannot the people be got to send in petitions for this object? In reference to Great Britain, nothing would more immediately and effectually deprive the pro-slavery party of this country of all influence and power than such an abolition measure taken by our government. I say the pro-slavery party, for there is such a party in the House of Commons, at least a party strongly in favor of recognizing and treating with the Slaveholding Confederacy; and they make capital by denying and keeping out of view the slavery issue in this conflict, and by pretending other issues, other causes, than the one cause of slavery, on the ground of which the South are fighting, they say, for their rights, and ought to be acknowledged as a nation. Let our government declare abolition as openly and firmly as the "rebels," when they first set out, declared slavery as their object, and the whole British people would compel their government to take sides with us, so far as they could take sides at all in the conflict.

Hitherto the rights of the poor slaves are almost as entirely ignored in this country as in our own, in the present struggle; but this is partly because abolition, or any purpose of it, is disavowed by the North. But let the North once declare abolition as their object (which they can now do as a war measure, constitutionally), and instantly the thoughts, sympathies, reasonings of this country would all be earnest, active, concentrated in behalf of the enslaved.

I have been delayed a week or two from our return to America by causes which we could not prevent. But we expect, God willing, to embark in the steamer of the 3d of August. Meantime, we are to spend a fortnight in Ireland. * * * Our American enemies have done us much mischief here through their ecclesiastical tools, missives and emissaries. You have done us great and good service by your admirable articles in our favor, for which I cannot sufficiently thank you. Your paper is held in the highest esteem wherever it is known

Our European Correspondence.

LETTERS FROM HARRIET MARTINEAU....LIV.

July 1st., 1861.

To the Editor of The National Anti Slavery Standard.

SIR: I take up my pen with stronger feelings of pleasure and pain than I have ever before experienced in writing to you. During the month which has elapsed since I wrote last, incidents have occurred which render the past a finished period—gone and done with—and which have introduced a new set of circumstances—a new stage of your national life.

The pleasant part of the view relates to the new position of the Abolitionists. It must be a strange sensation—the painful and irksome part of their function being at an end! It must be wonderfully refreshing to have no wrangling to do—no denunciation, no protest—not even criticism! Of course, I don't mean that your community can be supposed to have become perfect, on a sudden, on the slavery question. On the contrary, it is abundantly plain that the latest converts are the least temperate and reasonable, and therefore the least reliable part of your public. What I mean is, that the happy and genial offices of sympathy are now the manifest duty of the Abolitionists; and their friends here cordially wish them joy of it. After your long, faithful course of awakening and rebuke, it must be a state of bliss in comparison to have society coming to you for sympathy and guidance. It must be very sweet to pardon old illdeeds and feelings, to be silent on all shortcomings, to forget that your new comrades have not always been brethren, and to let them work with you as if they had always been entitled to do so. They will leave you plenty to do still, at best. Your long experience, your long discipline in insight and endurance, and your painfully-acquired habit of patience will all be needed at a time when passions run high, and when persons who have been wrong up to this time will, probably, insist on being more right now than anybody else. I rather expect to hear that the late waiters on the South complain of the Abolitionists for not being anti-slavery enough. We shall all understand that; and we shall all sympathize strongly with you while you at once keep up the new glow by indulgence and fellow-feeling, and so husband, and cherish and control it as to render it adequate for the work which remains to be done. Now that your task seems to the outward eye to be accomplished—the whole North being professedly anti-slavery—so that it would surprise nobody, any day, if your separate organization was found unnecessary—there is still a special work for every Abolitionist to do in his own place, in training those about him who desire to be trained in the principles and in the lore of anti-slavery wisdom. "Suffering" is no longer "the badge of all your tribe"; and it is a blessed duty to which you are now called—to show practically that suffering has had an enlarging and elevating effect upon you, rendering you as generous and sympathetic in your hour of ease and credit as you were brave and faithful in the days when your duty was that of protest and denunciation.

It is this view of your position and state of mind which affords the best friends of the American people the only consolation now possible for the disappointment and concern caused by the events of the last month. Our comfort in you had need be great; for our grief at the conduct of the people at the North generally is very strong. When I wrote last time of the precipitancy and folly of Mr. Cassius M. Clay, I could have no conception that his blunders and bluster would be taken up by so large a portion of society in the Northern States. From the South we should have expected nothing else. We have had only too much experience of ignorant misapprehension, of injurious imputation, of irascible temper, and petulant manners from a succession of governments at Washington; and we neither looked for acknowledgments of error nor expected better behavior in future, because we attributed the evil to the barbarism encouraged by slavery, and were aware that it must last as long as "the peculiar institution." But we were full of hope, and I may say expectation, that things would be very different when the slaveholders' faction no longer ruled the country. I am not aware that we have now anything to regret in the conduct of the President and his Cabinet as a whole; but, with regard to the rest of society—the folly and intemperance of its conduct has been such as to show us, either that the evil moral effects of slavery have spread more generally through the community than the world had imagined, or that other causes of mischief are at work which had not been sufficiently recognized. However this may be, the people of the free States (or those of them who assume to represent the country) have done themselves and their cause more mischief in the very first weeks of their entrance upon power than all the enemies they have in the world could have inflicted. First, they, by their representatives, enacted a vicious piece of legislation which, if it had not been impracticable, would have oppressed industry and ruined commerce; and next, they have alienated their best friends, and forfeited the confidence of all Europe in their judgment, temper and manners. What the disappointment is to their kindred here, and the friends of free institutions everywhere, I need hardly explain; but it is necessary to say that the mischief is well nigh irreparable. It is not difficult to us, after the experience we have had at Washington, to disregard evil construction, and bear with offence, and we do not look for reparation, because those who are quickest in offence are usually slowest in acknowledgment; but, however ready our will is to condone offences, we can do nothing in regard to what lies beyond the range of the will. Confidence and cordiality are not at the command of the will, and those who have rashly forfeited these will have to recover them by a long course of intelligent and just conduct, if indeed the mischief of the last few weeks can ever be repaired. What a month has thrown away it will take a generation to retrieve.

"But," it may be said, "the mistake is discovered now, and the passion and petulance which attended it may be considered as annihilated with the mistake." Not so, however.

The mistake itself is a forfeiture of confidence. Not only Mr. Clay and Mr. Burlingame, but all who have followed their lead in this matter have been wrong in these ways.

They have been apparently unaware that there were any such considerations in the case as international law and national policy; and they have judged England by their own desires of the moment, and not by her own laws, obligations and steadfast policy. This was the first wrong.

They have been wrong in confounding, in the question of recognition, a fighting party with a political power.

Their question—what should we think of them for acting as we have done, in case of an Irish rebellion, proves this. If the United States had a steadfast national policy of non-intervention, and if Ireland rebelled so as to send out privateers, we should expect the United States to refuse to fight the privateers on behalf of England, on the one hand, and to afford them any countenance on the other.

The wranglers have been wrong in fancying that England would afford any aid or comfort to "the South"; and this mistake arose from a previous very grave error. They assumed, *á priori*, that the English people would prove to be mercenary about cotton, and hypocritical about anti-slavery; whereas, when this war broke out, what the English people did was to set instantly about getting cotton from other sources; to respect the blockade of the Southern coasts, and to refuse harborage to privateers in their own ports.

The wranglers were wrong in giving out that the British ministers were acting in opposition to public opinion and the popular will; and, again, in pretending that the ministers had changed their course. By this time they must be aware that Lord John Russell and his colleagues spoke the mind of the nation in declaring what course our law and policy prescribe. On no occasion were they ever in more complete accord with national opinion and feeling. I need not add that they have not changed, more or less. There was nothing to alter in their plan, or in the declaration of it; and any attempt to impute such change shows either a misapprehension of the facts, or a desire to escape from an acknowledgment of error. The mention made of *The Morning Post* is evidence enough of the qualifications of any correspondent who quotes it. It would be as reasonable to refer, on political matters, to *The Court Journal*, or *The Ladies Book of Fashions*, as to *The Morning Post*—the footmen's newspaper—with its paltry circulation, and lack of all merit, except the ability to track the movements of the aristocracy.

The wranglers have been wrong in fancying that they could set up England and France in opposition to each other on the American question. By this time they are aware that there is perfect accord between the two governments and peoples, as the slightest political knowledge and sagacity would have shown that there must be. The same lack of political knowledge which caused the apostrophes to France, which I will not characterize, appears again in the observation that the Queen has caused "aberrations in the policy of England." The most superficial acquaintance with European politics or political history would have taught the reporters that constitutional sovereigns do not govern but reign. If there had been any "aberrations" in policy, they could not have been caused by the Queen.

As for the connection in which this was said—no condemnation from this side can be needed to enhance the indignation against the persons who announced that the Queen was insane; but it must come into the account, because such an outrage as the publication of that lie is a peculiar feature in the case. If I am asked whether an ill-conditioned foreigner from any country might not have committed such an act, I must reply that I rather think not; and that I am confident there is no country in Europe in which any respectable newspaper would have published the unsupported statement. The person who wrote it *might* have known that it is usual for bereaved daughters to retire from society during the first period of mourning; and that it is *not* usual to seize that time of defencelessness and sorrow to inflict injury and insult; and he *must* have known that the Queen saw her ministers and transacted business as usual, and that she had near relatives as her guests, and took her usual walks and drives all the time. Here, again, the mistake is exposed already. The Queen has held two drawing-rooms, and relaxed in her retirement; but the shaming of the slanderer does not compensate for the spreading of the slander.

Without this last item, the sum of errors is very grave; and more serious still is the fact that the people of the Northern States are liable to such mistakes of judgment and temper. It is this liability which renders confidence and cordiality impossible. There is no relying on any people capable of such blind precipitancy, such suspicion of us whom they ought to know so well, and such fretfulness in intercourse with us. The way in which hope lies is in the question—*who these people are?* We have seen a newspaper here and there—sadly few—which gave evidences of sense and temper more accordant with our idea of Northern opinion and sentiment; and we have every disposition to believe that there must be a multitude of sensible men and women who have seen the folly and crime of this recent exhibition. But how long do such citizens mean to permit the bullies to represent American society, unchecked and unrepudiated? This is a question which they cannot consult upon too soon.

I observe some mortification expressed here and there at the insufficiency of European admiration of the uprising of the North. I do not think such mortification is well-grounded. As far as I know, there is a hearty appreciation of the movement—an exclamation everywhere that the impulse is as fine as any patriotic impulse can be. For more than this time is necessary. Time must show whether the patriots who have offered themselves so gallantly will sustain their quality through months or years of endurance and heroic achievement. When they have shown the world a fine example of military discipline and civic self-denial; when they have afforded a spectacle of sobriety and purity in camp, of public spirit in bearing taxation, and of high probity in the ultimate discharge of all liabilities to the public creditor, at home and abroad, they will not have to wait for the homage of all men and women whose esteem and admiration are worth having. Meantime, I believe there is not a more ardent wish in the hearts of all lovers of freedom than that the citizens of the free States of America may, in the fullness of time, be graced by this homage, without drawback in the interval. There is some anxiety caused by the virulent spirit of public writings and speeches generally. It was hoped that the North would have been above returning "railing for railing" with the South, and that it would have remembered more effectually that irritability and passion are signs, not of strength, but of weakness. These things may come right; but all mutual insult now is so much needless, and perhaps fatal, difficulty in the future. It is conceivable that the slaveholders might find it less difficult to surrender slavery than to get over some of the language that I have seen, aimed at feelings which no man is called upon, under any circumstances, to attack. Patriotic citizens on the right side of a conflict have no need of questionable weapons, and should throw them out beyond the limits of their political camp.

I meant to have written about Russia; but my space is filled. By next time we may have better news of the serfs.

H. M.

FROM OUR DUBLIN CORRESPONDENT.

DUBLIN, July 5th, 1861.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I HAVE just received THE STANDARD of June 22d, and I wish to lose no time in expressing my entire concurrence in the spirit and sentiments of your article on the "Attitude of England." If you had been living in England you would not have more correctly apprehended the state of feeling on the American question on this side of the water. The sensitiveness that has been exhibited in the Northern States, in consequence of the talk in *The Times* newspaper and the course of our statesmen in recognizing the seceding States as belligerents, appears to us extravagant. As to the *Times*, it is absurd to regard the opinion of an able, unscrupulous newspaper writer, as the deliberate judgment of the British people. How would Americans like to be held responsible for the atrocious swagger of James Gordon Bennett? By the way, it has occurred to a good many people here that, since Bennett was frightened by the New York mob into making his paper a staunch organ of the Northern Union men, he has tried to divert attention from his own ludicrous position, by throwing dust into his readers' eyes and getting up a hostile feeling against England. We look upon that as a sure card with a large class of your free and enlightened population. No political doctrine has been so widely popular amongst us for years past as that of non-intervention—and in the acknowledgment of the seceders as belligerents no more is meant than that they are what all the *acts* of your own government have hitherto admitted them to be. You may call them what you please, but you give them all the benefits of the position of regularly constituted enemies. You don't hang them, and you occasionally still act as their slave-catchers and the careful guardians of their human property.

When you reflect that a proportion of ninety-nine out of every hundred American visitors to England have been (if they are not still) defenders or apologists of the slave system; that this civil war is not in any shape or manner officially understood to be a war against slavery; that, as it is not against slavery, most Englishmen really do not know what it is about; and that very few indeed have a clear idea of the nature of your Constitution and Union, or understand why you are trying to compel people into a Union who hate you very heartily, and have always bullied, insulted, robbed, cheated, and abused you to the best of their ability, it is not reasonable to expect much sympathizing enthusiasm in England.

You are perfectly right in assuming that, with the great mass of the English people, their anti-slavery prepossessions are no sham. If this war of yours had for one of its declared objects the abolition of slavery by treaty, by compensation or by force, gradually or immediately, the feeling in your favor would be enthusiastic. As matters really stand, there is, I suspect, a general impression that since, like the nettle or the thistle, it is difficult to approach you too nearly without being the worse for the contact, it is better to keep a civil distance; that the less we say or do the better; and accordingly, both in Parliament and out of doors, it is generally understood that the less said, the easier mended. I don't believe this prudent reserve has in it any element of fear or of cowardly timidity. It is more like the reserve of a grown up man who has an irritable, cantankerous, quarrelsome and utterly unreasonable youth to deal with.

That there is a numerous and influential class in the great centres of trade, Manchester, Liverpool and London, who think of the supply of cotton as the only matter worth considering, is quite true. It is natural, and in no way surprising, that this should be so. But they are not the British people—nor do they shape its policy.

I see that Parker Pillsbury talks of "such a man as John Bright" declaring "there will be every disposition both in the Northern and the Southern States to remain on the most friendly terms with our country." He infers that this is stupid talk. I see nothing particularly stupid in such language. As to those members who scout the idea of British subjects ever being maltreated in the South, such talk is stupid enough, though I cannot see that it is "brutal." The ignorance of thousands of people in good standing amongst us respecting everything American would be almost unbelievable to any one of ordinary intelligence from the free States. Just as the very same kind of ignorance prevails amongst Americans respecting matters and things here—and that the very wisest people both here and there know almost nothing of people, things, and institutions to which they have never directed their attention. I remember a very ignorant and boorish "ministering Friend" from the back part of Indiana who travelled here "in the work of the ministry," many years since, and who was greatly scandalized by the extravagant luxury of brass fenders and other ordinary appliances of civilized life, which he thought were made of gold, and unpardonably extravagant in "members of our Society."

If the votes were taken to record the leanings of our people generally in regard to your present difficulties, an immense majority in England and Scotland would be for the North. Whether the Irish multitude, whose proclivities for the pro-slavery Democracy are so remarkable, would favor the North or the South I really do not know. I would not greatly wonder if, under the direction of their spiritual advisers, they preferred the latter—since to these a really free Republic, such as the North would be if the slaveholders were shaken off, would be gall and wormwood.

Is it fair to expect us to be full of zeal in your patriotic struggle, when we see accounts in your papers of your favorite Generals sending back poor fellows into the hell of slavery—and compacts made with the slaveholders that, if they will only be loyal to the Union, their property of all kinds shall be secured to them? Such conduct is regarded with disgust and contempt, and it deserves no better. What are the maintenance of the Union and the Constitution, compared with the possession of one's own body and bones?

I have never doubted that the backbone of the Slave Power was broken by the secession—but people generally cannot see this—and it is even now hard to see when the end will come—though it must come before very long.

As to the poor-spirited, trimming counsel of Lord Brougham to the English people to avoid offending the Southern States by open opposition to slavery, his advice will not be taken, and nobody who knows him is much surprised by it. He is a wonderful old man, amazing for his activity, energy, capacity, knowledge and power, and in past years for his tremendous talent for eloquence and sarcasm—but it is long since he has been credited for any great moral stability, or for heartfelt enthusiasm on behalf of humanity. He has taken up and labored ably and well in behalf of many a noble cause—but if he had been an American, he never would have been an Abolitionist. Probably for one American Abolitionist he has ever spoken to, he has been courted and flattered and misinformed by a hundred of your Southern chivalry. In fact, it is not fair to judge of any people by the utterances of any individuals, however eminent, or by the articles in any paper, however influential, but by the uniform course of their conduct and national policy—and that the general conduct, policy, and sympathies of England, for many years past, have been in favor of liberty, I think is unquestionable.

Great surprise has been felt by many here that some hitherto strenuous non-resistant Abolitionists have been so carried away by enthusiasm for the war that they appear to place their peace principles in abeyance—and to hope more from this burst of Northern patriotism than their past experience of Northern politicians and voters would seem to justify. I hope much from what the Northern people may be driven to by suffering, but not much from what they are. An immediate anti-slavery conversion of the Northern Democracy would be as wonderful as any religious revival recorded in history. That they should rapidly come round to the converse of the Dred Scott decision, and be willing to regard the colored people as entitled to the rights of men, would indeed be a blessed revolution, as the harbinger of a glorious change in the character, doctrines, and moral influence of the American people.

Yours, etc., RICHARD D. WEBB.

THE WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

SALEM, O., July 13, 1861.

DEAR FRIEND JOHNSON: At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, held at this place, on the 7th inst., it was decided to hold the Annual Meeting of the Society for this year, commencing Saturday, the 31st of August.

The place of meeting has not yet been determined; probably the neighborhood of Alliance, Stark Co., will be selected, as the best location. Prominent speakers—Eastern and Western—will be in attendance; and we hope to have a large, interesting and profitable meeting.

The official Call for the meeting, with the names of speakers, will be forwarded you, ere long, for publication.

In behalf of the Executive Committee,

JAMES BARNABY.

PROPOSALS FOR A NEW BOOK OF MARTYRS.—The undersigned respectfully solicits authentic information of every case of outrage and wrong perpetrated by the Southern chivalry upon Northern citizens, and upon Southern men who have suffered on account of anti-slavery principles, in order to put them on record for the information of future generations. Every person who has himself suffered, or who may know of instances of commercial men, teachers, preachers, travellers, young ladies, etc., who have been hung, or killed in any way, tarred and feathered, ridden on rails, or otherwise outraged, with the amount of pecuniary loss incident thereto, together with the amount of debts which remain unpaid for the last fifty years, is desired to write out and forward to the undersigned an accurate account thereof, giving names, dates, localities, etc. Let every communicant give his name in full, and Post Office address, that the facts, if necessary, may be verified.

Editors favorable to the above will please copy, for we want facts to enable us to estimate the value of the "DIVINE INSTITUTION."

L. G. OLMSTEAD, New York.

THE FREEWILL BAPTIST QUARTERLY for July contains the following named papers:

1. The Doctrinal and the Practical in Christianity. By J. M. Brewster.
2. The Christian Church and the Poor. By L. P. Brockett, M.D.
3. Baptism not Immersion. By Rev. J. M. Bailey.
4. The Power of Personal Character. By Rev. George T. Day.
5. Moral Happiness—its Nature and Conditions. By Rev. O. E. Baker.
6. Disagreement of Doctors on the Origin of the Human Species. By Rev. G. H. Ball.
7. Dr. Butler's Theology. By Rev. D. M. Graham.
8. Conventional Morality. By Rev. M. H. Tarbox.
9. Process of Saving Grace, exemplified in the Religious Experience of Rev. A. Merrill. By Rev. Joseph Fullonton.
10. Contemporary Literature.

It is only just to say, that if this work, in its literary character, is not quite up to the level of some of its older cotemporaries, it is above most of them in the earnestness with which it applies the principles of Christianity to popular sins, and especially to slavery.

PIOUS PRIVATEERS.—A captain of one of the vessels captured by the privateer Echo, relates the following incident:

"On the morning of the 7th, the schooner S. J. Waring, Captain Smith, of Brookhaven, from New York, for Buenos Ayres, hove in sight, was taken, deprived of her crew, and sent in as a prize. *This was Sunday, and divine worship was attended—the pirates seeming as pious as Puritan Christians, praying that God might bless Jeff. Davis, and bring defeat and confusion upon his enemies.*"

Capt. Coxetler, of the Echo, was found to be a native of Maine, while one of his lieutenants was from Cape Cod. Both have wives and families in New England. They were doubtless trained under the preaching of some "Southside" parson, by whom they were taught that slavery is not *malum in se*, but a patriarchal institution, blest of God and sanctioned in the Scriptures. Piracy and praying are equally congenial to a religion which sanctions the "sum of all villanies."

THE Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Office has been removed from 107 North-Fifth Street to 106 North-Tenth Street—four doors above Arch, west side, nearly opposite the office of *The Friends' Review*.

All business pertaining to the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, including the sale of anti-slavery books, the receipt of subscriptions for THE STANDARD, *Liberator*, London *Anti-Slavery Advocate*, etc., etc., will be transacted as heretofore at this office.

Chronicles of the War.

THE advance movement of the grand army, which commenced on Tuesday, the 16th inst., and of which nothing definite was known at the time of going to press last week, has resulted, we regret to say, in a defeat—perhaps it is not too much to say an utter rout—of the Union forces. The reports which reached this city down to Sunday night, though confused and conflicting, were on the whole calculated to inspire the positive conviction that our troops were on the point of winning a great victory by driving the rebels from their stronghold at Manassas Junction. The papers of Monday morning were jubilant over the asserted fact that the enemy's outposts at Bull's Run had been carried, though with great loss of life, by such fighting as illustrated the high courage and prowess of our volunteers; but at the very moment when the hopes of the people, excited by this news, were at the highest pitch, came tidings that the army under Gen. McDowell, had been repulsed, and was flying, in a state of disorder and utter demoralization, before the rebels. Never before did we witness so sudden a revulsion from the joy of assured victory to the grief and mortification of signal defeat. From noon till night the dispatches grew continually worse and worse, and the people went to their beds under the depressing conviction that not less than four or five thousand of our brave army had fallen, and that for those who had escaped there was nothing but the humiliation of a battle as unavailing as it had been bloody. Fortunately these reports proved to be very much exaggerated, and the truth, as it was gradually sifted from the mass of confused rumors, though bitter enough, was seen to be not half so bad as had been supposed.

It is quite impossible for us to find room for any complete or even connected report of the battle at Bull's Run. The accounts are spread over whole pages of the daily journals, to which and to the local papers we must refer our readers.

The forces actually engaged on our side were not at any time more than 20,000, while the rebel army, besides having the advantage of fighting on chosen ground and behind strong batteries, numbered full 90,000 men. Gen. Johnston arrived at Manassas Junction in time to reenforce Gen. Beauregard. *The Tribune* of Wednesday says:

"The lists of the killed, wounded, and missing are yet incomplete, and by necessity inaccurate. The estimates of the casualties still differ from each other greatly, though none of them are as high as at first reported. It is certain that the losses on our side were most strangely exaggerated in the earlier dispatches. The very highest estimate is not over 1,000, and 500 is probably too large a figure. The Fire Zouaves, as admitted by all, made a splendid fight, charging upon the rebel cavalry with an impetuosity against which nothing could stand. They suffered severely, but it is believed that not more than 100 are missing or wounded. The 69th New York Regiment covered itself with glory. It is feared that Col. Corcoran was killed, though there is room for hope that he was only taken prisoner. This regiment suffered, also, terribly. The 71st New York Regiment behaved with admirable bravery; on Tuesday morning they only mustered 600 men out of 900; 25 or 30, however, returned in the course of the forenoon, and it is supposed that their entire losses will not exceed 60 men. Col. Wilcox of the 1st Michigan Regiment was not killed, as at first reported; he has been heard from, and is a prisoner among the rebels.

"It is said that Secretary Cameron, after a visit to Centreville and the vicinity of Bull's Run on Saturday, was so strongly impressed with the difficulty of forcing the enemy's position, that he returned in great haste to Washington for the purpose of changing the orders concerning the army movement. It being too late for this, however, he sent on all the available troops to strengthen the reserve. It appears, also, that a conviction of the hopelessness of the attack weighed upon most of the officers of our army. Gen. McDowell considered a victory of so much importance that he felt it necessary to risk defeat. It is stated by some of those engaged in the fight, that our men were exhausted with hunger, having eaten only dry bread on Sunday, and that if they had been properly fed they would have fought with a better heart. Greater courage they could not have shown.

"Throughout the country the enthusiasm which burst out like wildfire when the first proclamation of the President was issued has been renewed by the reverse of the other day. Regiments are offering themselves to the government everywhere. Nine regiments were accepted last night, and 30 more will be taken within six days; 70,000 men have, within the last thirty-six hours, been accepted. Vigor marks every branch of the service now, and the spirits of all have recovered from the depression of Monday, rising even higher than before.

"It is positively reported that the rebels are in retreat from Manassas Junction toward Richmond; this report is strengthened by the fact that their baggage waggons have been rapidly moving within the last two days. It is certain that none of them have been seen this side of Centreville, and that they did not dare to pursue our retreating army, being once or twice repulsed by the gallant brigade which covered the retreat.

"Concerning the Rebel losses in the battles of Bull's Run, nothing definite is known. We hear from Memphis that they are there estimated at 3,000.

"Letters received in Washington from Richmond positively state that Gen. Lee left that city on the 18th instant with a large force for Lynchburg, on the way to cut off the advancing column of Gen. McClellan.

"Our loss in artillery is not nearly as great as was at first supposed, and it will immediately be made good. Sherman's battery, reported taken, has returned in excellent condition."

Who knows but this unexpected defeat, so mortifying to the pride of the North, may be the very means ordained of God to bring the people to a sense of their folly and sin in ignoring the rights of the slaves and refusing to embrace the opportunity Providentially afforded for wiping the blot of slavery from the national escutcheon? We are confident, at any rate, that public opinion is gradually but surely ripening to the very point of demanding a national emancipation of the slaves as the most effectual mode of crushing out the rebellion. The following paragraphs, from *The Times* of Wednesday, show in what direction the tide is beginning to run.

"There is a divinity shaping the course of this war, and we must accept its fortunes and its misfortunes with equal trust and hopefulness. There is one thing, and only one, at the bottom of the fight—and that is the *negro*. And yet, both North and South are studiously ignoring the fact, and deceiving themselves and trying to deceive the world as to the cause of quarrel. The South pretends to be fighting for independence—but it is fighting for the establishment of human bondage as the basis of republican government. The North, or loyal States, claim to be fighting for the reestablishment of the Constitution and laws, and to have no thought of property or social institutions in their mind. But they know that until slavery changes its relation to government, and becomes its complete *subject*, instead of its arrogant master, the peace and safety of the republic are impossible.

"If our army had been victorious at Manassas, they would have marched on to Richmond, and ended this war on a false basis; both parties ignoring to the last the cause of the war. The God that rules over all, and does exact justice in the end to bond and free, would not permit a compromise of this sort to forestall his providence. And he has awakened the nation, as by the shock of an earthquake.

"Would anything short of our unexpected repulse of Manassas have quickened the conscience and judgment of twenty millions of people in regard to this conflict? The ghost of long-murdered liberty to millions of weak and despairing captives leaves its tomb, and haunts our army, and frights it to panic and flight. Now shall we learn, anew and rightly, our position and duties. We have an enemy to meet who has long defied God and man—who has for generations outraged justice and humanity—and who threatens to extend over a whole continent the diabolism of his rule. Shall we strike the monster where he is vulnerable? Shall we thrust in our spear where the cancer of his crime invites to surgery? Shall we "fight the devil with fire," according to the wisdom of the ancients? Let a paralyzed army and a reeling nation answer."

A COLORED MAN TAKING CARE OF HIMSELF.

We have to record an example of strategic skill and bravery—in which a negro sailor, unable to read or write, was the chief actor—which goes far to console us under the sad reverse of our arms at Bull's Run. The facts should put to shame those who question the negro's capacity for the enjoyment and defense of liberty, and who, in the great struggle in which the country is now involved, are careless of the effect it may have upon his interests and rights.

The schooner S. J. Waring of Brookhaven, Smith, master, left this port on the 4th inst., bound for Montevideo. On the 7th, when only 150 miles from Sandy Hook, she was brought to by the privateer Jeff. Davis, which took from her a quantity of provisions, and then put on board a prize crew of five men, taking away Capt. Francis Smith, the two mates, and two seamen, leaving the steward, two seamen, and Mr. Bryce McKinnon, a passenger, on board. The prize crew were Montague Amiel, a Charleston pilot, in command, one named Stevens as mate, Malcolm Sidney as second mate, and three men. The steward of the Waring was a colored man, named William Tillman; the two sailors, both white, were William Stedding and Donald McLeod. The parties, not counting the passenger, stood six to three, while the pirates alone understood navigation. The schooner was headed for Charleston—the pirates hoping to run into that port in spite of the blockade. The negro steward, Tillman, saw at once that if the vessel should enter that or any other Southern port he would probably be sold into life-long slavery, and his sense of this terrible danger was made more acute by overhearing a conversation among the pirates, in which they spoke of the price he would bring in Charleston. He had also heard the prize-master say to one of the men, "You talk to that steward and keep him in good heart; by ——, he will never see the North again. The worst that would probably befall the white sailors was imprisonment for a longer or shorter time during the continuance of the war; but the black steward had before him a fate worse than death, and with a spirit worthy of Patrick Henry's immortal declaration, "Give me liberty or give me death," he resolved to escape or perish in the attempt. He conferred with the two white seamen, but they, having less at stake than himself, declined adopting any plan of escape, saying that none of them would know how to navigate the vessel if they should succeed in getting control. For three days more the brave negro reflected upon the subject—his wit and courage not paralyzed but stimulated by the awful danger of his situation. Having carefully weighed the chances of success against the hazard of defeat—the value of two pirate lives against his own inalienable right to freedom—he at length made an appeal to the white sailor, Stedding (a German), saying: "If you are a man to stick to your word, we can take this vessel easy. I am not going to Charleston a live man; they must take me there, if at all, dead." Stedding assented to the negro's plan, and they waited and watched for an opportunity to carry it into effect.

On Tuesday night, July 16th, the vessel being fifty miles south and one hundred west of Charleston, the hour to strike the blow arrived, and the MAN was ready! The pirate Captain and his two mates were asleep—dreaming, perhaps, of the profits to accrue from the sale of the vessel, the cargo, and the black chattel who had given proof of his value by his skill as a steward. Stedding was at the helm. He gave the signal (a cough) agreed upon between himself and Tillman, but the latter being too fast asleep to be thus awakened, he went to his berth and touched him, saying, "Now is your time." The negro awoke at once, and with a hatchet killed first the pirate Captain, Montague Amiel, then Malcolm Sidney, the second mate, both of whom were in the cabin. He next rushed upon deck and killed the first mate, Stevens, who was sleeping on the companion-way. He then, with the aid of Stedding, threw the three bodies overboard. All this was but the work of seven minutes! McKinnon, the passenger, who was sleeping near the pirate Captain, was awakened by the scream which followed the fatal blow upon his skull. It needed but a few words to make him comprehend the state of affairs, and though he took no part in the tragedy, he was not unwilling to escape even by such means from the hands of the pirates. The sailor Donald McLeod, and the two privateer sailors, named Milnor and Dorsey—the former from South Carolina, the latter from New Jersey—were asleep up to this time, and of course entirely ignorant of what had been done. Milnor was called into the cabin and ironed. Dorsey, upon learning the condition of affairs, begged for his life, and agreed to assist in working the vessel if he were not confined. McLeod, though one of the seamen of the Waring, was distrusted by his companions, and constantly watched. The black hero now took command of the vessel and brought it safely into New York, arriving on Sunday last. The two pirate sailors were at once sent to prison, while Tillman and his companions are detained as witnesses. The schooner was anchored off the Battery, where she was the object of much curiosity. The bloody spots in the cabin, the secession flag that the pirates made out of the American ensign, which was stained with the blood of the chief of the pirate crew, and the bloody hatchet, were all inspected with great interest. The object of greatest curiosity, however, was the hero Tillman, who was visited by many people at the Marshal's office, all of whom commended him for his coolness and bravery. The Underwriters have expressed the intention to reward Tillman and Stedding handsomely, which they can well afford to do, as the value of the vessel and cargo is estimated at over $100,000. Tillman says that at first he had thought of securing all the men, and bringing them all to New York alive in irons, but he found this was impracticable. To use his own language, "There were too many for that; there were five of them and only three of us. After this I said, well, I will get all I can back alive, and the rest I will kill." He says he was born of free colored parents in Milford, Del., and is twenty-seven years of age. His parents moved to Providence, R. I., when he was fourteen years old, and he has since called that place his home. He has followed the sea for ten years, and has been in the employ of Jonas Smith & Co., No. 227 Front street, by whom the schooner was owned, for the last three years. He is of medium height, rather strongly built, crisp hair, of nearly unmixed negro blood, and bears in his countenance an expression of honesty, strong common sense, with some touches of humor.

After this example of negro courage and skill to plan as well as execute, will the powers-that-be at Washington any longer persist in the folly of denying to the blacks an opportunity to take part in the war against Southern piracy and treason? Will they any longer refuse to avail themselves of the aid of the slaves, who, compelled now to fight against the North, are longing for a chance to attest their love of liberty by joining in the struggle to put down the treason of their masters? Why is it that when the letter of the Constitution is in other respects unhesitatingly disregarded in order to preserve its spirit, the Administration suffers itself to be hampered by compromises in relation to slavery which, always repugnant to morality and freedom, were originally granted upon conditions long since repudiated by the South? Why, in regard to *slavery* alone, should the North be in bondage to the mere *letter* of the Constitution? Is that institution so much more sacred than the writ of *habeas corpus*, that while the latter may be suspended by the exigencies of war, the former must be carefully protected?

We wish the merchants of New York would fit out a vessel of war, manned by such black sailors as William Tillman, and persuade the government to put it into active service against the Southern privateers. Thousands of black men would gladly embrace such an opportunity to serve a country hitherto most ungrateful to their race.

VARIOUS FACTS AND INCIDENTS.

MAJOR WINTHROP'S WATCH, found by the rebels on his person after he was killed, has been returned to his friends.

DESTITUTION AMONG THE REBELS.—*Fortress Monroe, July 11.*—Young Raymond, who lately escaped from Norfolk, states unequivocally that the rebels are short of food, that the men do not have enough to eat, and that great complaint constantly exists.—*Cor. Tribune.*

DISUNION WILL LEAD TO ABOLITION.—A letter from Vicksburg, Miss., dated June 16, says: "Our prospects appear gloomy and sad. Whatever may be the results of this war, I have never been able to see any good likely to come to us from secession, but, on the contrary, I believe if our independence is acknowledged, it will be the commencement of the abolition of slavery. How can Missouri, Kentucky, or Maryland retain their slaves if the line is drawn between them and a foreign country? They must inevitably become free States, and so on. It may be gradual, but certain."

CHIVALRY COME NORTH.—At Charlotte, on the New York Central Railroad, quite an exciting scene occurred a short time since. A party of high-bred Southrons took the train with the intention of going by boat to Canada, and when the train reached Charlotte, the conductor demanded their tickets. They refused, with insulting remarks, and one of the party drew a revolver and called the conductor a d—d Northerner; before he had time to aim the weapon, however, he was knocked down, and some of his friends attempting to assist him, the friends of the conductor also pitched in and cleaned the assaulting party completely out.

TERROR AT THE SOUTH.—A lady who lately arrived at Washington from South Carolina, although young, has grown gray during the last six months, in consequence of the constant terror in which she had lived. She says that all the men have been obliged to leave their homes and plantations for the military service, and the women and children have been left nearly defenceless. She had herself learned to shoot with gun and pistol, for the sake of self-defence, although formerly dreading the mere sight of firearms. The negroes show a most discontented disposition, and when ordered to do work, do it with sullen, reluctant manner, and with scowling looks that alarm those around them. There had been seven attempted insurrections of negroes in her vicinity, and there were constant apprehensions of a more formidable one that could not be suppressed without terrible scenes. The accounts she gives of the scarcity, the high prices, and the universal alarm and suffering, are terrible.—*Phil. Bulletin.*

A GOOD JOKE.—They tell a good joke about the flying rebel Colonel from the field at Philippa. Col. Kelly's attack was so sudden that the Virginia brave forgot to put on his pants, but took to his heels in his drawers and shirt, coatless, hatless, and shoeless. He left behind him, among other things, a written-out copy of a speech which he had made some days before in acknowledging the presentation of a flag to his regiment, in which, among other extravagancies, he said he would die in the last ditch before he would let the enemy take that banner! And yet this very flag fell into the hands of the United States troops without a struggle. What boasters these Virginia sophists are!—*Cor. Tribune.*

SECESSION OF INDIAN NATIONS.—The *Galveston News*, of the 25th of June, has the following intelligence from the Indian nations:

Mr. J. A. Echols, Secretary of the Commissioners sent by the Texas Convention to the Indian nations, returned recently. He informs us that the Chickasaw Legislature passed an act of secession by a unanimous vote about the 1st instant. A convention was to be held by the Choctaws about the 14th instant for the same purpose, and there is no doubt that that nation has also seceded. The Creek nation had a convention about the 12th of May, but they sat with closed doors, and their action is not therefore certainly known, but as delegates to the Southern Confederacy were immediately sent, no doubt is entertained that an act of secession was passed.

REBEL LYING.—The rebel leaders everywhere tell their deluded followers that the Northern soldiers are a set of villians bent on plunder. When the Union troops entered the village of French Creek, Va., the wife of a fugitive clergyman, and the mother of two interesting and intelligent daughters, was so much alarmed that she barricaded her house, and secreted herself and family in a dark cellar. Her retreat being discovered, and assurances given that no harm would be done her, but, on the contrary, protection extended, she reluctantly came forth! Confidence being established, she freely entered into conversation with Lieut. Hogeland. She said that it was currently believed that the Northern soldiers intended to plunder their houses, murder their children, and violate their women. The Lieutenant had no difficulty in disabusing her mind of these false and absurd impressions, and persuaded her to send for her husband, who gladly embraced the opportunity to return to his allegiance.

SAD STORY OF SECESSION ANARCHY.—At Mobile, recently, a Capt. Jones, the owner of a homestead 17 miles above the city, being on board his own schooner, was driven by storm into Pensacola, where he was arrested upon a charge of treason against the Southern Confederacy, and falsely accused of conveying dispatches to the United States fleet. He was cleared and soon afterwards arrived at Mobile. He had just taken the cars to rejoin his beloved wife, when the Vigilance Committee found him, at once produced a rope, which indeed they always carry with them in their rounds—and attaching it to a tree by the roadside, swung off their victim amidst his protestations of innocence. The dead body was given up to his wife, who, amidst her unutterable suffering, devoted weeks to the object of freeing his memory from the aspersions of the mob. She proved beyond a doubt, that her husband, while living, was a firm and unwavering Secessionist, the idea of betraying his native State having never entered his mind, and this she compelled the Mobile papers to acknowledge and publish. And thus in this "reign of terror" perished one Secessionist at the hands of his own friends. This tragedy almost equals some of the incidents of the first French Revolution.

Congress.

In the Senate, on the 18th inst., there was a debate on slavery as connected with the war, a brief report of which will be found on the first page. On the 19th, Mr. Bayard of Delaware made a speech, for a sketch of which see pro-slavery column. On Monday, the bill for the confiscation of the property of rebels being under consideration, Mr. Tr

Miscellaneous Department.

OUR RIVER.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

(For a Summer Festival at "The Laurels" on the Merrimack.)

Once more on yonder laurelled height
The summer flowers have budded;
Once more with summer's golden light
The vales of home are flooded;
And once more, by the grace of Him
Of every good the Giver,
We sing upon its wooden rim
The praises of our river.

Its pines above, its waves below,
The West wind down it blowing,
As fair as when the young Brissot
Beheld it seaward flowing—
And bore its memory o'er the deep
To soothe a martyr's sadness,
And fresco, in his troubled sleep,
His prison walls with gladness.

We know the world is rich with streams
Renowned in song and story,
Whose music murmurs through our dreams
Of human love and glory:
We know that Arno's banks are fair,
And Rhine has castled shadows,
And, poet-tuned, the Doon and Ayr
Go singing down their meadows.

But while, unpictured or unsung
By painter or by poet,
Our river waits the tuneful tongue
And cunning hand to show it—
We only know the fond skies lean
Above it, warm with blessing,
And the sweet soul of our Undine
Awakes to our caressing.

No fickle Sur-god holds the flocks
That graze its shores in keeping;
No icy kiss of Dian mocks
The youth beside it sleeping:
Our Christian river loveth most
The beautiful and human;
The heathen streams of Naiads boast,
But ours of man and woman.

The miner in his cabin hears
The ripple we are hearing;
It whispers soft to homesick ears
Around the settler's clearing:
In Sacramento's vales of corn,
Or Santee's bloom of cotton,
Our river by its valley-born
Was never yet forgotten.

The drum rolls loud—the bugle fills
The summer air with clangor;
The war-storm shakes the solid hills
Beneath its tread of anger;
Young eyes that last year smiled in ours
Now point the rifle's barrel,
And hands then stained with fruits and flowers
Bear redder stains of quarrel.

The blue skies smile, and flowers bloom on,
And rivers still keep flowing,
The dear God still his rain and sun
On good and ill bestowing.
His pine-trees whisper, "Trust and wait!"
His flowers are prophesying
That all we dread of change or fate
His love is underlying.

And thou, O Mountain-born!—no more
We ask the Wise Alloter
Than for the firmness of thy shore,
The calmness of thy water,
The cheerful lights that overlay
Thy rugged slopes with beauty,
To match our spirits to our day,
And make a joy of duty.

Atlantic Monthly for August.

BALTIMORE—WASHINGTON—RICHMOND.

[A native Virginian of high character describes, in *The Tribune*, the state of society in Baltimore, Washington and Richmond, respectively, in relation to slavery.]

BALTIMORE, Richmond and Washington are types of three entirely different societies and interests. In Italy "all roads lead to Rome"; in the South they all lead to slavery, and thence the descent is easy to the Avernus of Secession. And our Northern Generals must have tracings of these moral and social routes, as well as maps of military roads.

In Baltimore there is but little direct slave interest. Indeed, the number of slaves there held can scarcely be regarded as involving so much wealth as the piratic slave trade, in which Plug-Uglymore is known to bear her part most gallantly. The intense pro-slaveryism of that city cannot, then, be traced to a deep interest in bipedal property, nor to any care about insurrection, nor to any sincere colorphobia. *It is simply the sign of a caste.* It is aristocratic to be pro-slavery. Southernism has raised this standard and gage of social condition absolutely; and those who are so unfortunate as not to be high-born—*i. e.*, born at the South—are given to feel that they must eke out their shortcomings with an extra amount of Southern ardor and pro-slavery talk. Those large, fine residences around the monument—of which that of J. Hanson Thomas is chief—give the Southern key-note and theme, and an apedom from all the thirty-four points of the compass gathers around to choralize most devoutly. Those domicils, reared by old Maryland and Virginia scions, or those who have intermarried with such, and who have sold the inherited estates and negroes to splurge at the head of society in Baltimore, glitter before the eyes of every young man and woman of the city like visions of the blest. When good Baltimoreans die, they go to Monument Square. The Church element comes in here strongly. This upper-tendom is generally Episcopalian; but the largest Church connection in Baltimore is the Methodist. This Church is very old, and counts within its pale many of the oldest and most aristocratic families. They have just enough of this latter element to wish and aim to have the Methodist Church the aristocratic Church of the city. The Baltimore Methodists were the first to innovate on the old usages which eschewed pews and organs. This ambition of theirs involves a pro-slavery attitude; and there can be no doubt that the immense influence of this popular Church in that city has been cast on the side of the oppressor. Many of their most eloquent ministers, *e. g.*, Roszel, Dashiel, etc., have married into wealthy and aristocratic Southern families. W. H. Milburn, "the Blind Preacher," a native of the South, a personal associate of the bogus Vice-President Stephens and others of that ilk, and a bitter pro-slavery partisan, lived in Baltimore at one time, and did all he could to force that feeling. So the aristocratic part of the Methodist Church aspires to go beyond Monument Square in the *sine qua non* of Baltimore gentility. Many of the New England residents have surrendered to this feeling. Most of the Unitarians of that city are of New England antecedents, and, of course, they could not go into any circle less elegant and wealthy than that to which they were accustomed at home. The Rev. Dr. Burnap, who was for more than twenty years pastor of the Unitarian Church of Baltimore, told me that he could not preach on freedom even in the abstract; "To do so," he said, "would be drawing a razor from ear to ear on my Church." Among these were the Browns, of which Mayor Brown is a specimen. These classes have their newspaper organs. *The Sun* represents the large Methodistic mass who aspire to be the leaders of society. *The American* represents the Monument Square aristocracy *par excellence*. Let no one be deceived about these drawing-room, kid-gloved folk, imagining them to be persons of high culture or breeding; they are not nearly so much so as the Charlestonians; they are without true culture, without earnestness; just such a gig-gentility as Carlyle would "squelch" in the name of the real *Aristoi*.

In Congress, Henry May and J. P. Kennedy represent this class. They are men who wish to keep a quasi-Union for the sake of a pleasant dinner-table connection with the wealthy and literary clubs of the North, but who would resent as an ineffaceable blot on their escutcheon a charge of being in favor of the Union, as including the possibility of ever again having a "Black Republican President." They are superficial and untrustworthy men.

Winter Davis is the only instance I have ever heard of in Maryland where one of aristocratic relationship has had the courage to break through those ties. He is a conceited man and not a profound man; but he certainly has pluck and patriotism. He is descended from one of the oldest families of St. Mary's; being in direct line from old Governor (Colonial) William Stone, who, for his fealty to liberty, was condemned to death, and who was only saved by the women of Annapolis gathering around him and vowing that he should not die, but they would die with him. Mr. Winter Davis has many relations in Virginia who, of course, hate him violently; among these was the late Justice Daniel of the Supreme Court, and Mr. John Daniel of the Richmond *Examiner*, of whom I wrote you in my last communication. At present, Mr. Davis's friends and relatives in Baltimore are very eagerly and persistently trying to recover for him the place in "the circle" which he has forfeited, by representing that he has no sympathy whatever for freedom, and was for the Union only for the purpose of gradually securing it as a permanent estate to the South.

Gen. Banks and his companions, then, should at once understand, if they do not already, that what is known as the Baltimore aristocracy, all in it and all who hope to be in it, are utterly and heartily disloyal to the government. Real exceptions are as scarce as hen's teeth. They will, indeed, talk about the Union in a magnificent kind of way; but on pressing the matter it will be found to be the Union—with the present President ousted, and such guarantees as will forever exclude him and any of his opinions from the White House.

All this, be it understood, is a *status* of opinion resting upon the most superficial basis—that is, it is not upon any experience of, or direct interest in, slavery. The Union men, who doubtless have a bare majority in Baltimore, and a very large one in Maryland, are of a class which always has to wait many years before it can raise an antagonistic voice to an aristocracy. The great Middle Class, the metal in the social blood, constitutes the Union ballast. Baltimore has a large and well-regulated population; a large and earnest class of plain old Methodists who loathe the pretensions which have crept into their Church and have never forgotten or suffered their children to forget that the great Founder of their Society, who came across the Atlantic and established Methodism in Baltimore, named slavery "the sum of all villanies."

In Washington City the aristocracy has at heart been hitherto of the same kind with that in Baltimore. But the political element is so strong there—involving every dollar that goes into every man's pocket—that Washington society will be a nose of wax to the strongest hand—whether it be President Lincoln's or Mr. Jeff's. Washington is simply a large and somewhat inconvenient National Hotel, with a good many rats poisoning its wells. It has arisen not by any geographical or local decree, but by the need which a certain avuncular individual, known as Samuel, has of pate, oysters, and champagne; of prayers and puddings, of boots polished daily; of conscience with sins all sponged out every Sabbath. It is not difficult to say that after the waiters in this hotel have found all the extra avenues of turning extra pennies closed up, they will stand before Uncle S., hat in hand, and smile, and smile, and obey his slightest nod. I am quite sure, however, that a considerable majority of Washington residents would this day regard it as a glorious vindication of a free government, and a planting of a nation on a stable and conservative basis for J. D. to successfully inaugurate his reign in Washington.

Richmond may be taken as a type of a very different state of things. Slavery is here both an all-pervading social condition, and an important portion of trade and ground of credit. Richmond knows by experience, and in every form, the institution that is a matter only of silly talk and political capital in Baltimore and Washington. There the slave-trader will be found defending with his life every inch of his bloody deck; there the politician will be applauded the more implacably he whets his knife to take from freedom's side each grain and scruple of flesh that is written in the bond. Here that half-way-ism, too long dignified, North and South, as conservatism, diminishes. If a man or woman there does not violently defend slavery, be sure it is because he or she has reason to hate it with an intense hatred. A silence on the part of any one, when slavery is discussed, need not be misunderstood; there is no city of the South where there are more profoundly convinced Abolitionists than Richmond. I have known many cases where loving friends have had to labor with young men seized with a misgiving about the institution, just as their doctors do when they are seized with measles, or parsons when their thinkings are found not deducible from the 39 Articles, or the Westminster Catechism. I was once in a company of young men in Richmond who, in discussing the slavery question, began giving experiences. I found that each of them had struggled "over the quicksands of skepticism to the strong shore of faith" in human bondage! Some of them acknowledged that they had groaned under trouble about the system of the South, and were almost ready to flee their State as a city of destruction, when they were rescued and reassured. Several were saved by the theory of Agassiz that men were not descendants of one pair, so triumphantly woven by Nott and Gliddon into a justification of negro slavery as the servitude by inferiors. Several had been rescued by the "New Nigger Gospel according to Thomas Carlyle." *(Et tu Brute!)* Various pamphlets, Scriptural and ethnological, had done the rest. But I also found, when I came to broach my own mind to some near acquaintances, that there were a goodly number who never got through their doubts of slavery, but, on the contrary, had them grow until they became sovereign principles. There are a good many strong brains in Richmond, and slavery has not been for so many ages writing itself down an ass, economically and morally, without the statements being recognized by some, and in the general upheaval of society which is soon to come upon that city the secrets of many hearts shall be made manifest, and some of them will be astonishing to the slave-mob of Richmond.

C. D.

MYSTERIES OF A SHAMBLE.

SINCE the day when, couched in some secret corner of the house, I threaded with that interest that is upon the verge of horror the mystical corridors of the Castle of Otranto, or the unfathomable Mysteries of Udolpho, the authors of which, as is well known, dined daily on raw meats of fierce animals, in order that their work should be sufficiently exciting to boys couched in corners as aforesaid—since then, to begin again, I have had no similar experience until this day, when I have been poring over a hundred or more letters that were found in that slave-shamble which was broken up at Alexandria, and whose ring and chain, torn out of the dungeon, are now—blessed symbols—in the hands of H. W. Beecher, who exhibits the same to his friends. These letters are indeed graphic. I have read all of LL.D. Russell's letters about the sunny South and slavery, but I do not feel that they are so descriptive as these letters and bills of sale found in Mr. Kephart's slave-pen at Alexandria. I mean to give you some specimens, just as they come to hand. But first let me say, these letters, which were secured by a friend of mine from the floor of the shamble where they lay in a huge pile, run through date from 1837 to 1857. They show a consistent and definite trade between Maryland and Virginia and the cotton States. This office had agents all through Maryland and Virginia, whose sole occupation it was to go around and harvest the annual crop of negroes, which, having grown mature enough for service, and not being needed on the farms where they were born, are bargained for by the itinerant agents of the trade. Into the far South go all the young and rising generations of slaves.

We hear it constantly stated by the glossers over of slavery, that public opinion in the South is opposed to the separation of families, and that such separations are extremely rare. Now, there is scarcely a paper found in this shamble that does not bear witness that such is, on the contrary, the normal usage of slaves in Maryland and Virginia. Nay, more, the highest names of the highest and wealthiest families of those States are here found trafficking, for Louisiana and Georgia, young men and women who have grown up, "raised in their houses," as they occasionally say, but who are superfluous to them; here are such names as the Worthingtons and Talbots of Maryland, and the Carters and Baxters of Virginia.

No. 1 is from Mr. Bacon Tait, who seems to represent the highest branches of the business at Richmond, Va. After giving an account of certain sales, Mr. Tait gives the following semi-commercial, semi-philosophical observations: "Mr. Boudor complains a good deal about the negroes he has for sale, and I acknowledge that he has sufficient cause. It was all in all a most wretched lot of negroes when I saw them, and it was perhaps false in me for not advising the sale here of at least ¾ of them. I assure you, Captain, that inferior negroes are never cheap for the *La.* market. Trash and defective are never permanently profitable. They are very frequently sold at a profit for the time being, yet the sales as often recoil upon the vendor, with detriment more than counterbalancing such profit." We do not find that this Baconian reflection infringed at all upon the business in which Mr. Tait was then engaged.

In No. 2 we have a line which gives a neat picture of Mr. Boudor, alluded to as complaining in the last letter. This gentlemen writes from New Orleans, at which point he holds the garner into which the harvestings of the Northern slaves are brought, before distribution into patriarchal plantations. "You ask," says this glorious gentleman, writing to Kephart the Alexandrian, "you ask for information about little boys and girls"—kind-hearted, affectionate Kephart! how childhood seems to call out his profoundest interest! Bouder replies, "All I can say is that they are always ready sale, but they must be purchased right or they do not pay much profit." Can any one tell us how little boys and girls may be purchased "right"?

Nos. 3, 4, and 5 interest us in a certain sensation girl, whose disposal seems to create a variety of speculations on the part of Messrs. Brashear, Kephart and Sims, all of "the profession." This girl, we learn from No. 3, is named Dulcena Dulceboso, and instead of being the dulcet being her name would imply, she is termed "a hard case" and "a hard one." About a year after, we find some more notes about her which are by no means dulcet notes. No. 4, one of these letters, mentions her thus: "I suppose that big price for the great Dulcena has not been obtained, and my own private opinion is, it never will be." "White people," it is sighingly added, "won't sell in modern times; it would do in days of yore." We have an idea that Dulcena D. did not prove entirely tractable among these elegant gentlemen, for in No. 5, written some months afterwards, we read: "I hope Harbin will put a 56-pound weight around the Dulcena Dulceboso's neck, and sink her in the Mississippi River before she may ever get to Natchez." It is Brashear, professional of Natchez, who expresses himself thus piously.

No. 6 furnishes us the following extracts: "The woman Leaply bought of Mr. Thomas I sold to a Creole at $675 payable the 1st of April with 8 per cent interest and I hold a mortgage on her that was a good sale she was dam triflin." "I have some tight cases on hand Jimy Leaply for instance the double-head boy also I heard from Harbin on Yesterday saying he still had Dulcena Dulceboso on hand yet and I am inclined to believe will for some time. Ware talks of coming by to see you this spring he is a whole soul chap and the darndest whig you ever saw."

No. 7 gives us an affecting view of what constitutes real human affliction to some minds. A New Orleans trader writes: "The next thing is the girle Caroline Browner. this I cannot blame you for. she was a no. 1 looking negro. she as been returned and her master claims of me a nother negro in her place or $400. she it appears has fits no mistake about it. if the man insists I shall have to pay him the $400 for if he sues me I shall be the looser. this you see is trouble in fact." "The blacksmith is not sold yet."

No. 8 is from Mr. S. Grady of Richmond, and informs us that "there is some activity in the market now for young negroes, and they very scarce. I have sold so many negroes lately that there is not now one girl in jail but what is grown and only two boys *—do send me some young negroes.—To-day Rachael Lockhart is sold at $587 50. This is the best offer we have had since she was sick affecting her eyes so that she had to be blistered on the back of the neck—and Mr. Tait said I had better let her go. Sophia is laid up again."

In No. 9 Mr. Robert Windsor of Alexandria informs somebody that a "Boy" bought by Mr. Welsh, in Brentsville, is not delivered because the owner is not well, and that "he—'the boy'—has gone to the neighborhood of Bladensburg to see a woman and child." *What* woman and child he has gone to see before he is "delivered" up does not appear; nor by what name the woman and the child called him when they met and when they parted!

No. 10. A gleam upon the darkness. Mr. Richard H. Carter writes from Rectortown, Fauquier County, thus: "Mr. Kephart.—Dear Sir—A few days since your agent, Mr. Basheurs, bought in this neighborhood a woman by the name of Mima and her child from a Mr. Shermate—the husband of Mima lives with me, and such appears to be the distress of both parties on account of the separation that I am induced to make an appeal to your humanity (!) in their behalf." He then makes an offer to redeem the woman and her child, which is manifestly the best he can do, but which he feels is not quite up to the market possibility. "I am aware, Sir, that such cannot be your usual way of doing business, and that, if you do make any arrangement, it must proceed from a motive of humanity; but from what I learn concerning you, I am induced to hope my application will not be in vain." Let us hope that there is no one in the form of humanity who has not a soft place in his heart, and that Mr. Carter found one even in the heart of Kephart, and that Mima and her child found a home with the kindly man who was willing to redeem her, though "he has already more negroes than he actually wants," as he states elsewhere.

No. 11 comes from the same neighborhood and the same name, and makes a bad contrast. Geo. Carter writes from Oatlands, Loudon Co., Va.: "I have a mulatto female servant, twenty years old, a first-rate seamstress, capable of cutting out both men's and women's apparel, hearty, robust. She is for sale, and if you wish to buy her, *and will stipulate to send her to New Orleans or to the South, you shall have a bargain in her.* Her mistress has taken great pains in learning her to sew, and she is an excellent ladies' chamber-maid." What this girl has done to make it necessary that she should go so far away, even if the price was lowered for that object, can only be conjectured. Is it possible that she was considered too near some young scion of Oatlands at any spot short of New Orleans? Watchful parents must, for such reasons, dispose of valuable articles at ruinous rates, lest they keep them at much more ruinous rates.

In No. 12, John T. West, of Elkton, Cecil Co,, Md., makes earnest inquiries of Mr. J. Brewan, after "2 vary likely young negro girls," and "ware that man lives that owns that fast race horse wich," etc., etc.

No. 13, and last, is very suggestive, and reveals a phantom behind all these figures. It is Mr. Bacon Tait, of Richmond, who writes to Mr. Windsor: "Pray do me the favor to hand the enclosed letter *privately* to Mr. Armfield. *Don't take it to him at his house, but seek an opportunity to give it to him when none of his family can see you do so.*"

Thank God, the slave-dealer finds in woman, in the wife and daughter, influences he cannot trust! "The family," where face meets face and affections spring, is no place where *his* letters can be safely delivered or his negotiations carried on.—*Tribune.*

* The reader is reminded that all active negroes in the South, however old, are termed "boys."

THE POLISH NATIONAL HYMN.

["The singing," says the London *Times*'s correspondent at Warsaw, "of the national hymn still continues. Indeed, though of Roman Catholic origin, and containing prayers for the dead, it has been recently sung during Divine service in the churches of both Lutheran and Calvinist Protestants, and (with omissions) in the Jewish synagogues. To give you some idea of its character, I venture to send you a version of it in English—full of defects, I know, but still conveying the sense of the original. It was composed, I am told, by a Polish Bishop in the reign of Alexander I., when the Polish nation began to entertain hopes of a renewed national existence from the clemency and liberality of the Emperor, after the events of 1815. The two last stanzas are a recent addition. The music is plaintive and touching:"]

PRAYER OF THE POLES.

O THOU who didst o'er Poland oft of yore
Cause streams of glory and of power to flow;
Who didst with Thine own shield her children guard
From woes that else had been their overthrow—
Here at Thine altar, Lord, we raise our voice to Thee:
Grant us our Country—grant us Liberty!

Thou who Thyself didst grieve o'er Poland's fall,
Those who upheld her cause Thyself didst aid;
And who, to prove her valor to the world,
Didst lend her brightness from each passing shade—
Here at Thine altar, Lord, we raise our voice to Thee;
Grant us our Country—grant us Liberty!

Give back to Poland all that erst was hers;
Make fruitful all her desert fields again;
Let joy and freedom flourish here once more;
Oh! cease to punish; Lord, thy wrath restrain;
Here at Thine altar, Lord, we raise our voice to Thee;
Grant us our Country—grant us Liberty!

Thou who canst break the iron rod of kings
With but a touch of Thine Almighty hand,
Confound the machinations of our foes;
Some hope in our dark souls again command.
Here at Thine altar, Lord, we raise our voice to Thee;
Grant us our Country—grant us Liberty!

Almighty! on Thy will alone depends
The fate of empires, and the lot of man,
Save us from out the bondage of our foes;
Of Poland's sons bless Thou each deed, each plan.
Here at Thine altar, Lord, we raise our voice to Thee;
Grant us our Country—grant us Liberty!

Arise, O Lord, exert Thy sovereign might;
Cause battles, massacres, defeats to cease;
In freedom's loving bond all peoples join
Beneath the sceptre of Thine angel, Peace!
Here at Thine altar, Lord, we raise our voice to Thee;
Grant us our Country—grant us Liberty!

Almighty! by the wounds of Him who died,
Bless all departed ones for whom we grieve;
Deign round their brows the martyr's thorns have twined
And traced in blood the path of Liberty—
Here at Thine altar, Lord, we raise our voice to Thee;
Give back our Country—give us Liberty!

EMANCIPATION IN CUBA.

HAVANA, July 6, 1861.

MARK my words, the end of this affair with St. Domingo and Hayti will be the enfranchisement of the slaves of this island. The negroes here have got the idea into their heads that such will be the case, and the white masters, as I intimated to you in a recent letter, would seem to be preparing for such an event.

Would Spain, in the midst of her great progress towards regeneration, desire not to see all the future of this beautiful island utterly blasted by the slaves rising in their might, and taking a bloody vengeance upon the white inhabitants—securing at the same time their freedom—then she must at no distant day set them at liberty, giving their owners a fair compensation for their property. If they will take a lesson from their neighbors of Jamaica, and avoid the errors into which the planters of that island were led at the period of the emancipation of the slaves there, then Cuba will be as prosperous, her teeming soil cultivated by *free* labor, as she now is with *slaves* as her laboring class. There is one advantage, too, possessed by this island, which Jamaica had not at the time her slaves were emancipated. The great majority of the planters of Cuba—or rather I should have written, the owners of sugar estates—though they do not reside upon their properties, dwell, generally speaking, in the island, and will, therefore, be better enabled to enter upon that system of retrenchment in their expenditures, which may be found requisite at the very outset of freedom, than were the planters of Jamaica, who nearly all resided in England, living in a most luxurious and expensive manner, getting into debt upon the promise of payment out of the proceeds of "next crop"; but when it was found the free laborer would not toil as the slave had done, without "fee or reward," then the value of that crop was greatly diminished, and the formerly wealthy Jamaica planter found himself at once reduced to comparative poverty.

True it is, there were very many other circumstances which materially tended to produce that unhappy state of affairs with the Jamaica planters, and which, with a proper prudence, may be easily avoided in this island.

Our planters in Cuba can, if needs be, go and live in comfort, nay, luxury, upon their sugar estates, where may be produced almost every luxury necessary for the comfort of the refined civilized man. A semi-annual trip to the city may be requisite to procure the finer articles of attire—more especially those required by the ladies—but that will be all that will be necessary for the complete happiness of the Cuban planters in, as I and many of my friends believe, the not far distant day, when the present slaves will walk with upright bearing as FREEMEN.—*New York Times.*

ENGLISH VIEWS OF THE AMERICAN CRISIS.

Correspondence of The Evening Post.

LONDON, July 2, 1861.

EVEN the great fire in London does not diminish the interest of the people of this vast city in the progress of the American war. At the same time, people are surprised and disgusted at the hostile tone of the public press of the United States, so far as it is represented here, towards Great Britain, and the misconceptions and mistakes, or absolute falsehoods, allowed to prevail in regard to the attitude and feeling of the British government and nation. It is impossible to measure the mischief accomplished by certain newspapers of the North through the falsehood of their conclusions and the violence of their expressions in reference to this country. The mischief is willingly increased on this side, by means of the opportunity thus given to some who are glad to exasperate the hostile feeling that has arisen here by representing the United States as insulting on their part towards the English. The people here have learned with amazement that they are supposed in America to have taken the part of "the rebels" against the North.

But the fact is, and it ought to be pondered in the United States, that neither the government nor the people here can understand or work out the riddle of the politics of the United States, or guess what is really desired or intended by the North, or what course would meet their wishes. The people here go generally by sympathy and conviction against slavery, and the government take the same path by policy, and all parties profess to desire its abolition. But when about to carry this sympathy to the side of the North in the present conflict, they are met with the declaration from both government and people of the United States (so far as the leading public presses quoted here may be taken in evidence), that this war has nothing to do with slavery; that the North has no intention of abolishing slavery; that the war is not to be carried on for any such purposes; but, on the contrary, that all the guarantees of security to slave property are just as perfect and sacred as ever, and that the slaves are not to be set free. There is not only no such purpose of deliverance avowed by the North, but it is distinctly disavowed. It seems to be the desire and intention of the North to make the South believe this, and especially to persuade the border States of it, and if these States can be assured of it and made to rely upon it, can Great Britain do otherwise than believe it?

"I have it from distinguished Americans," said a leading member of the House of Lords to the writer of this letter, "that you do not mean to abolish slavery; that at the North there is no such intention, but quite the contrary. I learn the same thing from other testimony, and it is but precisely what you have all along declared." "It is, besides," said another nobleman, also a member of the House of Lords, "in perfect correspondence with all the past experience that the government at great Britain have had of the feelings and policy of the United States on this subject. The United States government have thwarted the efforts of the British government against slavery in every way, and the North have proved quite as staunch protectors of slavery as the South. And now, when the British government and people would fain sympathize with the North in an earnest effort against slavery, they are assured that the North have no such purpose, no intention whatever of abolishing slavery! Why, then, should the people of the North expect Great Britain to sympathize with them against the South, or on what ground can they be angry at her neutrality, if they disavow and deny the only principle on which the people of Great Britain could see or feel that it would be right in any way for them to take sides in the conflict, namely, the principle of the abolition of slavery and freedom for the enslaved?"

Such was the tenor of the conversation; and it is what may be heard in many a circle. What security have we (it is asked) if the North should conquer and actually and entirely subdue the South, that the slaves will be any better off, or that the North will abolish slavery? You tell us now, beforehand—the very same presses that are so loud and bitter against Great Britain for not taking sides with the North—tell us distinctly, that no such intention is entertained as that of abolishing slavery. Why, then, should we feel any more interested (so far as that is concerned, at least) for the North to conquer than the South? How *can* we cast our sympathies with the North, when the North themselves are confederated even now, in this very war, to put down abolition, and are themselves treating the poor slaves as property?

What answer can be made to these allegations? Take as an example of the tone of feeling and reasoning now prevailing here the following paragraph from this morning's *Chronicle*. It is not an unfair specimen of the general tone of the public journals:

"The sympathies of a nation who cheerfully sacrificed twenty million pounds to abolish her own slave trade cannot go very heartily with the Southern slaveholders. On the other hand, it is difficult enough to see our way clear through the exaggerations, the irresolution, the wild freaks and chaotic turmoil of the North. If we wished to be severe we might go on to animadvert on the hypocrisy of twenty millions of men who, while denouncing slavery as an abomination in the sight of heaven, treat the unfortunate blacks on earth as if they were below the standard of animals. If the North only knew its own mind and proclaimed the independence of the slaves throughout the South, the quarrel would be practically at an end, and free labor would soon regenerate the slave States, and place the Confederation on a sure and durable basis. The North has the game in its own hands, and all the vapid declamation against the supposed bias of England towards the South is only calculated to inspire contempt in the mother country, where, if we have learnt to talk, we have not forgotten how to act. Nor do we look upon the cotton question as one of such paramount importance as it is commonly supposed. We fully believe it to be a fallacy to represent England as being dependent on South America for cotton. The addition of a penny on the pound would probably bring us more cotton from India than we want. Experienced Indians are well aware of the fact that the Indian capabilities for the growth of cotton are far beyond our actual requiremepts, needing only a very slight addition on the price to turn the tide into the English market. Apart from sentiment, therefore, even our interests are not pledged to the South in the American quarrel."

Such are the expressions of opinion that you may hear on all sides, from the highest classes as well as the lowest. The course of the government and presses of the North in regard to slavery has much perplexed and palsied the sympathy of this country. People in general, here, have no means of knowing the feelings and hopes of the Abolitionists of America in regard to the war. All that is seen and known is the palpable disavowal, even by the very newspapers that rebuke Great Britain for her neutrality, of any intention being entertained of warring against slavery. "Very well, then," they everywhere very naturally say, "fight out your own quarrel among yourselves, if it is not slavery that is the cause of contention, and when you have settled it then we will make our own terms with both parties; but if you, neither North nor South, are fighting against slavery, it is a family quarrel from which we will keep ourselves entirely aloof."

These are feelings that I have heard expressed by leading members of both houses of Parliament. Nor can there be any doubt that the hesitating, uncertain policy of the United States government and people has increased the anxiety for neutrality in this country almost to a mania of caution. It gives great advantage to those who are not heartily opposed to slavery, but are opposed to any agitation of the subject. The policy of silence is earnestly advocated and very successfully maintained; and the time when it might have been supposed that all England should have spoken out most loudly is the time when everybody is saying to every other body, Don't say a word! Lord Brougham inaugurated this phase of public sentiment in his cautious and pusillanimous speech recently delivered in Parliament against any further discussion of the subject of slavery. Within a day or two it was said to me by a member of the House of Lords, "Let it be clearly understood in this country that the United States intend to abolish slavery, and the whole government and people would go with them most heartily. But if they have no such intention, then we must wait, and shall take the extremest care not to embroil ourselves in this quarrel."

ARTIFICIAL HOOFS FOR HORSES.—It is impossible to calculate the various needful purposes to which gutta percha may be applied. One of the most ingenious applications recently made of this valuable substance is that of making artificial hoofs for horses' feet. Many ingenious devices have been resorted to, to attain this result, but the adoption of gutta percha will, doubtless, supersede all others, as soon as its efficacy becomes recognized. What is required by the veterinary surgeon is a substance possessing the consistence of horn, to retain the nails of the shoe; that will readily soften by heat, so as to mold itself to the required form; that it be indissoluble in water, the horse's hoof being generally in contact with moisture; and, lastly, that it be capable of uniting perfectly with the hoof. No known substance possesses all these qualities except gutta percha. For the purpose under consideration it is prepared by being cut into fragments the size of a nut and softened in hot water; the pieces are then mixed with half their weight of powdered sal-ammoniac, and melted together in a tinned saucepan over a gentle fire, keeping the mass stirred; the mixture should assume a chocolate color. When required for use it should be melted in a glue-pot; the surface of the hoof must be scraped clean, and the gutta percha applied as required. The application may be facilitated by the use of a glazier's knife warmed, by which also the surface of the artificial hoof may be smoothed and polished. In this manner many a valuable horse may be rendered useful, which otherwise would only remain fit for slaughter. On the score of humanity, also, this application of gutta percha is to be welcomed.—*English paper.*

SOUTHERN WOMEN HATE SLAVERY.

THERE is one element of influence in Virginia society which will, in the final settlement of the account with slavery, prove of unsurpassed importance. It is the female influence, which has a certain sovereignty of its own, to be felt sooner or later in every question. In Baltimore every elegant and high-bred lady one meets with favors the South and slavery, and, in four cases out of five, secession. It is much the same in Washington. This is simply because these ladies know nothing whatever about slavery; they are rarely served by slaves, they do not raise their families in the immediate vicinity of slave-gangs and plantations. It is all theory—all Southern airs—all "chivalry," "hospitality," "noble Southrons," etc., with them. But there are things connected with slavery in its practical relations which make it actually impossible that any pure and earnest woman can favor it. I give it as my honest conviction, after living nearly all my life in constant contact with the institution, that there is not one Virginia woman in one hundred, who does not in her heart detest the institution. It is the serpent in her path as a wife, a mother, a sister. I was present on one occasion when a lady of that State was informed that her son, who had gone North to be educated, had become anti-slavery. "I had rather have heard that he was dead than that he was advocating slavery," was her quiet reply. No fine airs about the sunny South can satisfy the true woman with whose very heart-strings this monster is grappling; no aristocratic vaporings can compensate for the premature development of passions in her darling son, or the unholy fires too often detected in the husband's eye. I say again, and I know it to be true, that the vast majority of pure women in the South *hate* slavery, and if in this storm some thunderbolt could leap forth and scathe and destroy the monster at once, they would press their children to their hearts with a wild, unknown joy—they would kneel and offer their *Te Deum* with happy tears, and sleep a peaceful sleep which their watchful eyes have never yet known. In looking over yesterday a number of letters discovered in the slave shamble of Alexandria, I paused at one in which the writer, sending a letter to a gentleman, encloses it to another, saying: "Do not take it (this letter) to him at his house, but seek an opportunity to give it to him where none of his family can see you do so."* How much was suggested in that caution. The traffic in human hearts and souls must be carried on away from where woman's eye can bend its pure glances upon it. In the South the slave-driver stays down at the barn and sends up for the gentleman of the house; in trafficking for Chloe or James he does not wish to meet wife or daughter. This very slave-trader, whose shamble was broken up in Alexandria the other day, had, to my knowledge, a wife who subscribed year after year to *The National Era* of Washington, and never ceased the most ardent expostulations with her husband against his inhuman occupation.—*Tribune.* C. D.

* This letter is now in possession of Marcus Spring, Esq., of Eagleswood, N. J.

WHAT SHALL BE DONE WITH THE SLAVES?

[Extract of a Discourse, delivered in the Unitarian Church in New Bedford, July 14th, by the Rev. W. J. POTTER.]

AND finally, even if the government had the right (as I have attempted to show) to decree the emancipation of the slaves in the States, and it should be expedient by and by for its own safety to use the right, will it, after all, be a kindness to the slave to do so? That a state of freedom is better for the negro than a state of bondage, has of course been implied and urged in all that I have said in these successive sermons on this topic; and is not a question to be opened now. But the particular point concerning which mercy to the slave now bids us look is this: whether, if emancipation be undertaken by the Federal government, and, as would most likely be the case, *against* the will of the majority of slaveholders, the slave, cut adrift from his present position, would not be left in a state of lawlessness and domestic war worse than slavery itself? If the government were only to *decree* the emancipation of the slaves and then leave them, in the midst of a strong and vindictive enemy, to their fate, or to *get* their freedom as best they could, then this question might well startle us. But the same humanity that bids us give freedom to the slave, bids us also provide that freedom be given to him, not with anarchy and violence, but with its proper blessings of order and prosperity and peace. It is not possible, nor desirable, perhaps, to fix at this time the details of any scheme of emancipation, because we want, if possible, that the scheme should be fixed in the South itself, the government only taking the position that emancipation there *must* be, but willing to coöperate with the South, or with any part of the South, in determining the best way to bring it about. But I do not think that we can look for any such thing as a forced expatriation of the colored race, or to colonizing it in any part of our own country in a territory by itself. As a matter of political economy, no country can thus afford to expel so large a portion of its laboring population. The slaves will be needed after emancipation, as now, on the soil where they were born and bred. That there will be difficulties attending emancipation on the soil, is, of course, true. We cannot expect that this demon of slavery is to be cast out of the nation without some convulsive struggles of the baser parts of human nature. But, all things considered, and especially the *humanity* of the question considered, there will be fewer difficulties, I believe, in the way of emancipation on the soil than of any other scheme; and no difficulties which a great nation like ours, with a firm and Christian determination to do justice to the negro, cannot conquer. In all the fifteen slave States there are but 350,000 slaveholders—a good deal less than the population of Philadelphia, and considerably less than half of the population of New York. They have great power, indeed, but their power is to be essentially broken by this rebellion. The most prominent and mischievous among them will have to flee the country in order to escape the gallows. The power of the slaveholding class thus enfeebled, the *non-slaveholders* in the South must rise in political and social importance; and through their coöperation, together with the coöperation of those among the slaveholders who sincerely desire to get rid of slavery (of which class I can but think there is a considerable number), the General government, sustained by the Christian humanity of the North, will be able, I believe, to work out the problem of emancipation on the soil, with fewer evils than can attend any other mode of emancipation, and finally to a most happy issue.

The government to emancipate the slaves and leave them to their fate? By no means. They are committed, under Providence, to the Christian care of this nation, as a sacred trust, and to be educated into the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, into the power and nobility of manhood. They are our neighbors, towards whom we are to fulfil that "royal law according to the Scripture," which is above every human law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." With an act of emancipation, let there be a new Executive Bureau established, with a new Cabinet officer, whose duties shall be to care for and protect, and educate these four millions of new born freemen, the youngest and tenderest children of the Republic. Let every plantation be turned into an agricultural colony of free laborers. Let the overseer with his lash give way to the cashier with his purse, and the teacher with his book. Let the tie of master and slave be forgotten in that of employer and *men*. In short, let every plantation become a home, a school, a Christian colony; and let benevolent men and women, of practical power, give their services in these seminaries of freemen for such various offices of instruction and mercy as will be needed. Does any one say, "This is all chimerical"? I answer by asking, Is it not Christian? That such a work can be accomplished without labor, without obstacles, and discouragement, and here and there a failure, is not to be expected. But is it not a work at least worth trying to do? But is not success in such a work an object worthy of a nation's aim? And if Christianity is true, ultimate success is sure. Let our nation, then, take up this work, which Providence now offers to its hands, with earnest and solemn purpose. By so much as it elevates the slave will it ennoble itself. Great is our country in ancestry and historic renown; great in martial glory; great in prosperity and population; great in extent of territory stretching from ocean to ocean; great in its commerce, whitening every sea; great in material resources, filling the land with wealth; great in privileges of civil and social freedom; great in its institutions of charity, of religion, of education; but greater than in all these, Providence now waits, yearns, to crown it over all the nations of the earth, as GREAT IN ITS HUMANITY.

UNCLE CALEB.—The h